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## EC refuses Irish request for abortion rewrite of Maastricht treaty



Andrews: hoped to open brief conference

EUROPEAN Community ministers yesterday refused Ireland's request to reopen the Maastricht treaty so that a special clause on abortion could be rewritten, triggering an unexpected political crisis in Dublin and complicating any future attempt by a Labour government to take Britain into the social charter.

The Maastricht treaty on political and economic union, which has been signed but not ratified by the EC's 12 governments, includes a protocol assuring Ireland that EC law does not interfere with the 1983 Irish constitutional ban on abortion. But the recent

abortion case in the Irish supreme court revealed that the drafting of the protocol did not guarantee that the anti-abortion law would not collide with EC law on freedom of movement and information.

The Irish foreign minister David Andrews yesterday asked his fellow ministers to open a brief inter-governmental conference to rewrite protocol 17 of the treaty. He said: "We are determined to prevent what is essentially a side issue in the Community from becoming a central issue in our national debate on the Maastricht treaty." A majority of eight coun-

A harsh Community ruling over a "side issue" may bode ill for Labour plans to reverse John Major's decision to opt out of the social charter, George Brock reports

tries, including France and Germany, refused and offered a non-binding declaration which would not be part of the treaty.

The Irish request, which was supported by Britain, The Netherlands and Denmark, has raised the possibility that the treaty might unravel if countries are given the opportunity to discuss it again. Ratification debates in several states have heard noisy calls for renegotiation. Objections

range from doubts in Germany about a single currency to unsatisfied subsidy demands from southern countries.

Many ministers said yesterday that opening a new treaty conference, however briefly, would open a "Pandora's box" of complications. "We will not open this box again," a senior EC official said afterwards.

This unexpectedly harsh refusal to reopen Maastricht issues may

complicate any attempt by a Labour government to take Britain into the social charter clauses of the treaty, which were accepted only by 11 states. Labour leaders hope to call an inter-governmental conference on the social clauses within a month of taking office. Whitehall has already advised Labour leaders that they cannot afford to wait: the Danish government has asked its partners not to alter the treaty text after mid-May in order to avoid complications in its own ratification referendum in early June.

As a contingency, British officials have discussed with the EC the

possibility that Britain could accept the social clauses of the treaty without calling a fully-fledged treaty conference. EC states would simply make a declaration that the section of the treaty saying that certain social laws would apply to 11 states only would be inoperative.

But Whitehall officials regard this method as second best and open to challenge in the courts. British sources said yesterday that Ireland's case but that other EC governments would be more sympathetic to clearing up the social charter than the abortion issue.

## Bomb blast in deserted alley leaves police puzzled

BY LIN JENKINS AND MICHAEL HORSNELL

A BOMB believed to have been planted by the IRA exploded in the West End of London yesterday smashing windows but injuring no one. Two people were treated for shock at the scene.

The device, containing less than 1lb of high explosive, went off shortly after 9.15am in an alley outside a block of flats in Bridge Lane, just north of Piccadilly Circus. Anti-terrorist squad officers confirmed that the device was typical of those used by the IRA, but were puzzled as to the target.

Disruption was kept to a minimum and the main routes in the area were reopened to traffic within minutes. A spokesman said that was not the result of a change of policy, but simply reflected the size of the bomb and the fact that it was in a "non-sensitive area" with no obvious targets.

Bombs in more sensitive areas, such as the one in Whitehall near the National Liberal Club, have seriously delayed London traffic for most of a day. There has been concern over the ease with which the IRA can disrupt the capital, and efforts have been made to ensure that life returns to normal as soon as possible.

Commander George Churchill-Coleman, head of the anti-terrorist squad, who spent ten minutes at the scene, said that planting the

bomb was sheer recklessness. "No warnings were given and we were fortunate that there were no casualties," he added that there appeared to be no obvious target.

Ten minutes before the explosion a man on a black BMW motor cycle was seen outside the office block with the engine running. Mark Bostock, aged 35, a photographer's agent, said: "I noticed him on my way into work in Bridge Lane and wondered what he was doing there. He was just sitting there."

"The next thing that happened was a flash and big explosion. I'd just got into the office in an alleyway off Bridge Lane. The windows blew out and there was smoke everywhere. I went outside and the whole street was covered in glass. Window frames were hanging out and there was damage to the brickwork where I work about 15ft away from the explosion. If I'd

been passing at the time instead of earlier it would have been the end of me."

As anti-terrorist squad officers combed the debris in pouring rain, a senior officer said: "It's difficult to imagine what the target was supposed to be. Bridge Lane is a very ordinary, quiet road and the office block where the device was placed is empty."

John Cooke, a butcher, aged 46, said: "I saw the thing go off. There was a blinding flash and an explosion. There was no one there at the time or I wouldn't have given much for their chances. But there was someone running, presumably to get away from the falling glass. The explosion at first seemed to come from the inside of the building because all the glass flew out."

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Aftermath: police seal Soho after the bomb explosion near Piccadilly Circus which blew out windows of flats but injured nobody

## Scotland Yard surprised by timing

Was yesterday's bomb a bungled mission or a new IRA campaign, asks Stewart Tindler

gave a warning that it would seek to influence events shortly before the election was announced. On Budget day, March 10, a small bomb was left outside a south London station, perhaps to give notice of an attack.

The question facing Commander George Churchill-Coleman, national co-ordinator of police anti-terrorist operations, is why the IRA decided to strike so late in the

campaign and why it chose this street. There was no known target in the area and if the aim was to cause traffic chaos, other targets would have been more effective.

One theory is that the bomb could have been dropped on its way to somewhere else. Police believe that the device was inside a bag or box and a motor cycle is reported to have been seen in the street shortly before the blast. The bombers may have panicked and could have abandoned their device. An IRA bomb which blew up in a waste bin in the Strand several years ago is believed to have been dumped in this way.

The sudden collapse of the mission would explain why the IRA gave no warning and why it would probably not claim responsibility because it would be admitting failure.

Police are also unclear why the bomb was so small. The size follows a pattern seen in other recent devices and it is believed that the active service unit could be conserving explosive or has even run short of large devices.

The key question for police is whether the unit has decided to remind London of its presence or whether yesterday's bomb proves to be the overture to a renewed campaign.

## Maze jail governor beaten by prisoners

The governor of Ulster's top security Maze prison was beaten as he carried out a routine inspection at the jail yesterday in an attack believed to have been carried out by Loyalist paramilitaries.

Two hooded men knocked the governor to the ground and then kicked and punched him. One of his principal officers was also attacked and was treated for a suspected broken cheek bone. The governor suffered severe bruising to the head and body, but the Northern Ireland Office said he remained on duty.

Dr Brian Mahon, Ulster law and order minister, said it was a planned attack. It is understood that Ulster Volunteer Force prisoners were involved, and Dr Mahon said an internal investigation was under way.

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## Consumers shrug off inflation

BY DAVID YOUNG

CONSUMERS in the South-East, East Anglia and the South-West are becoming less concerned about inflation and unemployment, but are still making no plans for any major spending, according to the latest Gallup/BSL survey of consumers.

It shows that there are reasons to infer a slight rise in consumer spending in the first quarter of this year, but gives no strong backing to government assertions that the recession is showing signs of ending.

The slight rise in consumer confidence follows from the decline in consumer spending seen in 1991, the sharpest since national accounts were first collected in 1984.

The survey also found that the differences between consumers' views are now less marked than a year ago. In Wales, however, consumer sentiment is well below the national average.

The reason, says BSL, for there being less concern about inflation in the south is that most price discounting has happened in that area, but less concern about employment is surprising because unemployment there has increased at a faster rate.

BSL said: "The south has the most optimistic expectations for the coming year. However... saving is becoming less attractive to consumers, even though over half still think it a good time to save."

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## Parents plead for help to find killer

BY RICHARD DUCE

THE family of Nicholas Hanscomb, who was stabbed to death at Notting Hill Carnival, yesterday appealed for public help in finding his killer. The attacker has still to be traced after seven months, an inquest was told yesterday.

Dr Hanscomb, aged 38, became involved in a scuffle with a group of men at the carnival and was stabbed in the leg. He gave chase but collapsed and bled to death from his wound, the Westminster coroner, Dr Paul Knapman, was told.

After the coroner recorded a verdict that Dr Hanscomb, of Highgate, north London, had been unlawfully killed, John Hanscomb, his father, said that the family had been "devastated and crushed."

Mr Hanscomb, a Conservative councillor and member of the Greater Manchester police committee, said: "We appeal to anybody who has any information about what has happened to come forward. We do this not only in the hope that we might find some peace in knowing that justice has been done by Nick, our beloved son, but equally importantly to avoid the possibility of someone else losing their life."

Dr Hanscomb, who helped

## Dilemma of Shavian legacy

BY SIMON TAIT  
ARTS CORRESPONDENT

THE British Library will try to wrest control of the fund set up by George Bernard Shaw, worth up to £500,000 a year in royalties from his works, from the British Museum.

Brian Lang, chief executive of the library, said yesterday he had asked for an early meeting with Robert Anderson, the new director of the British Museum, and Lord Windlesham, the chairman of the museum's trustees.

In his early years in London, Shaw spent most days in the museum's reading room researching and laying the groundwork for his career. Before his death, in 1950, he arranged for the museum board of trustees to be made a beneficiary of royalties income "in acknowledgement of the incalculable value to me of my daily resort to the reading room."

This became known as the Shaw Fund, which the Treasury decreed should be used "primarily for the benefit of the library." The library was separated from the museum in 1973 and has since pressed for the fund's transfer.

Legacy abused, L&T, page 1

## Tax cuts fail to put brake on slump in new car sales

BY KEVIN EASON, MOTORING CORRESPONDENT

GOVERNMENT measures to stem more than two years of declining sales in the motor industry failed last month, according to figures issued yesterday by the Society of Motor Manufacturers and Traders. Sales in March fell for the 29th consecutive month.

Norman Lamont, the Chancellor, halved special car tax in his Budget to reduce the cost of an average family saloon by about £400. But the society said that uncertainty over the election may have kept customers away.

There were 143,115 registrations last month, 15.24 per cent lower than in March 1991 and way down on the

208,733 registrations of the year before. Sales of 406,211 in the first quarter of the year are 11 per cent lower than in the first three months of last year, and motor manufacturers are less optimistic about forecasts that Britain's biggest manufacturing industry is about to pull out of its worst slump since the war.

Sales last year were the worst for a decade. Fewer than 1.6 million cars were registered, compared with 2 million the year before.

Car makers had been confident that a revival would come this year and predicted that registrations could reach as many as 1.74 million, with the Budget cut in special car

tax contributing up to 80,000 new sales. It is becoming increasingly clear that there will be no significant recovery at least until August.

Geoffrey Pelling, the society's general manager, said: "Sales were sluggish ahead of the Budget and the welcome boost from the Chancellor's reduction of car tax has now been counteracted by uncertainty over the general election."

Geoffrey Whalen, managing director of Peugeot Talbot, was confident that recovery would come but said that there was little hope of finding customers in large numbers until uncertainty over the election and the economy was ended.

Gavin Laird, general secretary of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, said: "These figures show that the Tories are driving us further into the recession. It is time to change course and elect a government that will support manufacturing industry."

Drivers with mortgages are safer on the road than those without them, according to a report by psychologists for the AA Foundation for Road Safety Research yesterday.

Geoff Rolls and Dr Roger Ingham of Southampton University said motorists with mortgages had less money for socialising and were usually in steady relationships. Young single men tended to spend their free time with male friends who encouraged aggressive driving as passengers.

The psychologists interviewed 56 drivers aged 17 to 25 and compared 29 "unsafe" young drivers with 27 "safe" motorists.

## Ban case appeal

The decision by the Aberdeen sheriff's court last week not to ban a drink-driver because it could affect his son's position at a private school is to be challenged in the High Court by the fiscal's office. George Black, an Aberdeen joinery contracts manager, aged 40, admitted driving over the alcohol limit but was let off with a fine of £250 by Sheriff Rosie Morrison. He said he needed his licence to keep his job and pay his son's £4,000-a-year school fees.

## 'Face' talks fail

Solicitors acting for Jason Donovan and *The Face* magazine last night failed to reach agreement over the publication of the magazine, which has been ordered to pay the actor and pop singer £200,000 libel damages and which faces legal costs of a further £200,000, ended after an hour. Mr Donovan, aged 23, won the damages over an article in the magazine that suggested he was a homosexual.

Leading article, page 17

## Concrete delay

The owners of 4,000 concrete houses in southwest England still do not know when a test will be available to determine whether their homes contain a concrete called "mundie" which is defective. The test, being developed by the Building Research Establishment, would not be available until the summer, the environment department said yesterday after meeting lenders who are refusing to offer loans on houses that might contain the concrete until a test is found.

## Tunnel boycott

An estimated 1,000 companies took part in a boycott of Merseyside's river tunnels yesterday, organised by the Wirral chamber of commerce and industry, in protest over increases in toll charges. From 60p to £1 for cars, and lorry tolls went up by 122 per cent, from £1.80 to £4, after a decision to transfer the full capital cost of building the tunnels from the local authorities to road users.

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# Football riot trial threatened by ban on police secrecy

BY RICHARD FORD, HOME CORRESPONDENT

THE trial of 19 Manchester United supporters who are accused of rioting could collapse after the High Court yesterday upheld a decision that undercover police officers should give evidence in public, police said.

The defendants face charges including conspiracy to riot, rioting and causing violent disorder. They were arrested in a raid codenamed Operation Mars, which followed an investigation into football violence between September 1989 and October 1990.

The High Court yesterday rejected an application by the Director of Public Prosecutions, acting for the police, to overturn a judgment that the officers should not be allowed to keep their identities screened from the public. The Home Office said that a decision on whether witnesses gave evidence from behind screens was at the discretion of the trial judge.

Lord Justice Lloyd, sitting with Mr Justice Waterhouse, ruled that the prosecution had no right of appeal against the decision by Judge Owen at Manchester crown court last year. Lord Justice Lloyd added that it was not

open to the prosecution to seek a judicial review "when ever faced with what is regarded as an inconvenient or unjust decision".

In a ruling which could affect similar trials, he said that the prosecution had never had a right of appeal in such circumstances. The courts, he added, should not create a "surrogate right of appeal" by extending the supervisory role of the High Court through judicial review even if this meant that a trial never took place.

Last year at Manchester crown court, Judge Owen decided that the undercover officers should not be allowed to keep their identities screened. The police had argued that the risk to the officers came not so much from the defendants but from drug dealers and other criminals who sat in the public galleries at the crown court to obtain information about undercover officers. Judge Owen said he had no objection to the officers not revealing their names and addresses in open court but said he would not put up with secrecy surrounding evidence in court.

The High Court overturned another ruling by

Judge Owen that the trial on the conspiracy charges should not take place at all because of delay by the prosecution in bringing the case to court. The judge stayed those charges because the delay amounted to an abuse of the court process. Lord Justice Lloyd said the judge had been the victim of "inexplicable confusion" and there had been no unjustifiable delay on the part of the prosecution. It had taken time for the police to build up a picture of the alleged conspiracy.

Anthony Scrivener, QC, for the defence, said that he would seek leave to appeal to the Lords over whether the High Court had power to intervene through judicial review proceedings in cases where a stay had been ordered on charges which formed the whole or part of an indictment in a criminal trial. He said it was of public importance that the issue should be resolved because many other cases were "in the pipeline".

Greater Manchester police declined to comment last night because "the matter may now be appealed to the House of Lords and remains sub judice".



Toughest test: Graeme Souness arrives at the Alexandra hospital, with him was the model Karen Levy

By JOHN GOODBODY AND NICK NUTTALL

GRAEME Souness will today undergo a triple bypass heart operation with the chances high that he will resume his £350,000 a year job next season as Liverpool manager, in spite of the stress of leading the most successful English football club.

Mr Souness, aged 38, will miss the rest of this season including the FA Cup semi-final replay against Portsmouth next Monday, with the club again turning to Ronnie Moran as caretaker-manager. Mr Moran took over last season when Kenny Dalglish gave up being Liverpool manager because of the pressures.

Mr Souness, a former Scottish international, whose marriage ended partly because of the stress of managing Glasgow Rangers from 1986-91, told the players after Liverpool drew

## Souness likely to bounce back after operation

the FA Cup semi-final 1-1 with Portsmouth at Highbury on Sunday.

David Moores, the Liverpool chairman, said: "Graeme pulled them off the coach, took them into a restaurant and explained the situation to them. He has been worried for some time about not feeling as right as he should and he saw the club doctor, who said he should have some tests. After the tests, they decided to get him in straight away."

Mr Souness has always been renowned for his physical fitness but his family has a history of heart trouble. His father had a heart

his chest bone while the other will take veins, probably from a leg and others in the breast, which will be used to bypass the damaged blood vessels of the heart.

Mr Souness's chances of success are high. Mortality rates for open-heart surgery, mainly on men over 40, are about 1 per cent.

● Mr Souness needs the operation to relieve one coronary artery which is 70 per cent blocked and another which is 90 per cent (Dr Thomas Sturtford writes).

Physical fitness is not the same as overall healthiness. People also need to inherit the right genes, the right blood pressure, and they should have low blood fats and not smoke. After eight to ten days in hospital, and three months recuperation, Mr Souness should make a good recovery as younger patients do well.

Liverpool contingency plans, page 40

## BT cuts chatlines after ruling

BY MELINDA WITTSTOCK MEDIA CORRESPONDENT

TELEPHONE chatlines were cut off last night by BT just hours after a last-minute plea for an injunction to prevent Ofcom from pulling the plug on the industry failed in the High Court.

Sir Bryan Carsberg, director-general of Ofcom, the telecommunications watchdog, had given Britain's 12 chatline operators until noon yesterday to raise £660,000 for a compensation fund to help people whose phones were used to run up massive bills on the premium-rate calls without their knowledge.

But the chatline companies failed to raise even a fraction of the sum needed, and Mr Justice Schiemann yesterday refused Let's Talk (UK), a Manchester company, permission to contest the Ofcom decision in the courts.

Shortly after the judge's ruling, Ofcom issued notice to BT that it was revoking the chatline code of practice, without which neither BT nor Mercury can provide lines to companies running chatlines.

Last month Sir Bryan ruled that the fund, set up two years ago, could no longer be relied upon to compensate those who were wrongly billed.

Evidence presented in court yesterday suggested that the deficiency in the fund could reach £1 million. Only one of the 12 operators, Multiquest Europa, had paid anything into the fund — £28,000 plus a standing order for £5,415 a month.

Some parents have faced huge bills for calls made by children at the 48p a minute peak rate. Claims made against the fund have been so numerous that £443,000 has been paid out since it was set up two years ago. The chatline services have become almost addictive to some people, particularly teenagers, who spend hours talking to each other.

BT has said that it will make sure that every valid claim for compensation is paid in full.

Media L&T section, pages 6-7

## Vandals blamed for fire at Aintree

By JOHN YOUNG

THE fire which burned down Becher's Brook, the Grand National's most famous fence, was probably started by vandals, police said yesterday.

About £2,000 of damage was caused by the fire on Sunday night, the day after huge crowds had watched Party Politics win the famous steeplechase.

The arsonists struck when most of the strict security precautions imposed for the three-day meeting had been lifted. The 60ft wide fence, consisting of wooden stakes built up with spruce and thorn, was reduced to charred twigs and stumps.

In recent years the Grand National has been the target of animal rights activists who claim the race has caused an unacceptable number of deaths and injuries. Police believe that protesters would have struck before or during the race. Last year, demonstrators invaded the course, delaying the start by ten minutes, and others set fire to the new Queen Mother stand.

But police said that activists may have encouraged local youths to start Sunday night's blaze. John Parrett, general manager of Aintree racecourse, said that earlier in the day security staff had chased children with petrol cans from the course. Eric Dempsey, a fire officer, said: "The fence was engulfed in flames when we got there. Someone had run along the whole length with petrol. We could smell it."

Becher's Brook was named after Captain Martin Becher, who rode a horse called Conrad in the first race in 1839 and was pitched headlong into the brook on the landing side. It has accounted for six of the 13 horses killed in the race in the last 23 years.

The fence was made safer in 1989 after two horses, Brown Trix and Seandem, fell at the fence and had to be destroyed. No horses or jockeys were seriously injured in last Saturday's race.

Timely repairs, page 37

## BA's cadet pilots hired by rival

By HARVEY ELLIOTT, AIR CORRESPONDENT

NEWLY-TRAINED British Airways pilots, many of whom are having to work as cabin crew because of the drop in the number of air passengers, are being recruited by Cathay Pacific to fly jumbo jets, provided that they are not at the controls for take-off or landing.

The "cruise only" pilots are needed to monitor the instruments of long-range Boeing 747s while the main crew rests during non-stop flights between Hong Kong and Europe. They are not allowed to handle the aircraft below 10,000ft but gain experience of sitting on the flight deck.

The pilots, who were trained by BA at a cost of about £50,000 each, will eventually be given permanent jobs with the airline, but may have to wait for at least another year.

A BA spokesman said: "We have about 280 fully qualified cadet pilots who have graduated from Oxford Air Training School or from Prestwick but who cannot be given a job at the moment. There are

unlikely to be openings before the end of this year."

Since qualifying as commercial pilots, some cadets have taken jobs outside the industry, while many have been employed as stewards at a basic salary of £7,800 a year compared with a co-pilot's salary of about £25,000.

Almost all training courses paid for by airlines, except the conversion of flight engineers into fully-fledged pilots, have now been halted but dozens of would-be pilots are paying to go through the two-year course needed to obtain an Airline Transport Pilot Licence.

Ken Meehan, principal of the Oxford Air Training School, said: "They are using all sorts of means of raising the cash and, despite the sacrifice and the lack of vacancies today, I am convinced that those who join now will all get jobs when they are qualified. Hundreds of pilots will retire over the next two years and all the signs are that the airlines are poised to grow strongly from now on."

## Police seek sick boy

POLICE looking for a missing boy aged five who needs regular medication for a heart condition concentrated their hunt yesterday on two holiday resorts (Paul Wilkinson writes).

Luke Welsh was last seen on Friday with his mother Marie, aged 34, at Leeds station. Mrs Welsh has agoraphobia, a fear of open spaces, and West Yorkshire police, co-ordinating the search, say that she was also depressed.

Yesterday, officers were fol-

lowing up comments made by Mrs Welsh to her family that she wanted to visit the seaside, especially Blackpool and Scarborough. The police said: "The sooner we can trace this lady the better. Luke needs medication for his condition regularly and things could become serious if he doesn't receive it."

Luke, from Leeds, has to take drugs twice a day to avoid fits and has only a limited supply with him. An aunt normally cares for him.



Missing: Marie Welsh and her son, Luke

## Chipboard sold as mahogany

THE high-street jewellers H Samuel were fined yesterday for selling chipboard clocks as "elegant mahogany".

Magistrates at Weymouth, Dorset, fined the company £750 with £444 costs after it had admitted three offences under the Trade Descriptions Act.

The court was told that Allan Seller, the senior Dorset trading standards officer, saw the "mahogany" clocks on sale in Dorchester and Weymouth. One example, a striking skeleton clock with a recommended price of £235, was offered for £129.95. The most expensive, a traditional triple chime wall clock, had been reduced from £375 to £299. All three types of clock are still on sale in H Samuel shops but are now described as "mahogany finish".

Steven L. Jones, for the prosecution, said that the wall clock had been on sale for 18 months at 117 of Samuel's 440 branches, and the other two clocks had been sold at 205 branches for the past five years. "Consumers should be able to rely on the descriptions given on sales tickets."

Gregory Trevorton-Jones, counsel for H Samuel, said: "The company is before this court because one word — finish — was omitted." It was a simple mistake.

RAISED IN THE HIGHLANDS.

THE FAMOUS GROUSE  
FINEST SCOTCH WHISKY

QUALITY IN AN AGE OF CHANGE.

## Hop aphids beaten by sex appeal

By NIGEL HAWKES, SCIENCE EDITOR

THE sex appeal of the female aphid is being exploited in the battle to preserve the quality of British beer. Scientists at Horticulture Research International at East Malling, Kent, are using the attractants exuded by the females to attract males and infect them with lethal fungal spores as a way of controlling an aphid that devastates the Kentish hop gardens in the summer.

Insecticides have become increasingly ineffective against the aphid, which has learned how to detoxify most of them. They multiply prodigiously but asexually in the hop gardens between July and September, producing a new generation every ten days. In autumn, sated on hops, the aphids make for plums, damsons and

blackthorn, having been attracted by the scent of virgin females, and another generation of egg-laying females is born.

Colin Campbell and colleagues at East Malling have found a way of synthesising the sex pheromone, which can be used as a basis for traps. So powerful is the scent that a closed plastic container containing the pheromone in a hop garden leaks enough through its pores to attract thousands of male aphids, which can then be caught and killed in a water trap.

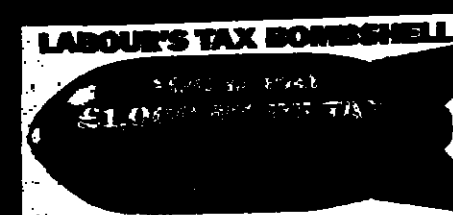
Dr Campbell has added a further twist by sparing the lives of the frustrated males and using them to carry a deadly fungal infection back to other members of their species. The beauty is, he says, that the infected males

carry the fungal spores "to hedges, to people's back gardens, to all the places where we can't get at them", and cause epidemics that kill off the aphids.

Last year a Kent hop farmer used the pheromones to produce "organic hops", the first time, he believes, that insecticide-free hops have been grown in Britain for many years. The hops were sold to a brewery in Edinburgh producing organic beer, for three times the regular price.

Dr Campbell believes that a second front will be needed before the damson-hop aphid crisis surrenders. He and his team have devised a way of predicting the summer migration back to the hop gardens, and intend to be waiting for them with a population of natural predators: lacewings.

# Whatever happened to Education, Europe, The Environment, Constitutional Reform, Transport, Housing and Energy?



Liberal Democrats

Look at the Conservative billboards pictured on the right: not one promotes their own achievements. Well, that's hardly surprising.

Now, look at Labour's. Not one promotes Labour's policies. Well that's not surprising either.

But what is depressing is that neither is addressing the agenda that should dominate the General Election debate.

Well, if they won't, we will. We will, of course, tackle the economic crisis, promoting measures that both kick-start

the economy, in the short term and develop it for the longer term.

But we will also promise to invest in education, even if it means adding a penny on income tax.

We will guarantee to realise

the full potential of Europe.

We will show attention to the environment, and what we will do to protect it.

We will guarantee to reform the constitution, and what we will do to guarantee

the future of the country.

And we will guarantee to reform the economy.

We will show attention to the environment, and what we will do to protect it.

We will guarantee to reform the constitution, and what we will do to guarantee

the future of the country.

If the way to earn support in this General

is to raise and take your agenda - the

matters - and to

positively for radical

GOVERNMENT to retain border the single Europe will be opposed bureaucrats and managers drag Britain into rest of Europe

The European will this month a port insisting that a legal obligation systematic front on people as well and five leading ports plan a demand the abolition of formalities.

With 269 days single market currency, commission fear that British the free movement is undermining the Europe without the port managers that the preservation of controls could ports' viability.

Although customs are being located away from the government clear its determination systematic controls at all entry, defying demands for the controls between states. The commission that any

Passport controls

Poll protest jail

Four poll tax protesters sentenced yesterday in a riot in Essex, after a trial estimated at a million.

At Norwich Terry Frost, Colchester, was two years in prison. Andrew Hester, Alresford, was sentenced for rioting in Hamstead Colchester, riotous disorder, aged 19, of was sentenced detention in a psychiatric institution.

Judge Binns that many people posed to the tax the disturbance grave danger to

Attack on Paul Chart-Cole of Clapham, 30, who, who Summerskill, of The Pink Panther for homosexual sentenced to 80 hours of community service in crown court.

Police Four police officers aged by bicycle and a stolen out, after gathered to wait Littlemore, youths were in

Tourist A Tunisian tourist suffered serious after being stabbed on his back and arms in south London made off with taking about

Prison A Catholic priest of 60 years of age, who was removed from his post in the diocese of Crediton, Devon

Region The Mayor of the City of London, Paul Rogers, was

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## Britain opposed on two fronts

## Ports demand open borders within EC

GOVERNMENT attempts to retain border controls in the single European market will be opposed by Brussels bureaucrats and UK port managers determined to drag Britain into line with the rest of Europe next year.

The European Commission will this month publish a report insisting that Britain has a legal obligation to abolish systematic frontier controls on people as well as goods, and five leading British ferry ports plan a campaign to demand the abolition of frontier formalities.

With 269 days before the single market comes into existence, commission officials fear that British opposition to the free movement of people is undermining the vision of a Europe without frontiers. UK port managers are worried that the preservation of border controls could impair the ports' viability.

Although customs formalities are being eliminated or located away from frontiers, the government has made clear its determination to retain systematic immigration controls at all UK points of entry, defying commission demands for the abolition of controls between member states. The commission maintains that any immigration

Brussels is not alone in calling for relaxed frontier controls, Michael Dynes reports

controls after next year would be a violation of Article 8a of the Single European Act, as ratified by Britain in 1987. Home Office officials say that nothing in the agreement requires Britain to abandon immigration controls over third country nationals, including those arriving from other member states.

While Britain prepares to defend its position in the face of threats of legal action from Brussels, the British Ports Federation is calling for the government to make concessions. David Whitehead, the federation's policy director, gives warning that the government's determination to inspect the passports of all 30 million people who enter the UK each year through the ports will lead to intolerable delays, particularly at Ramsgate, Portsmouth, Poole, Newhaven, and Harwich.

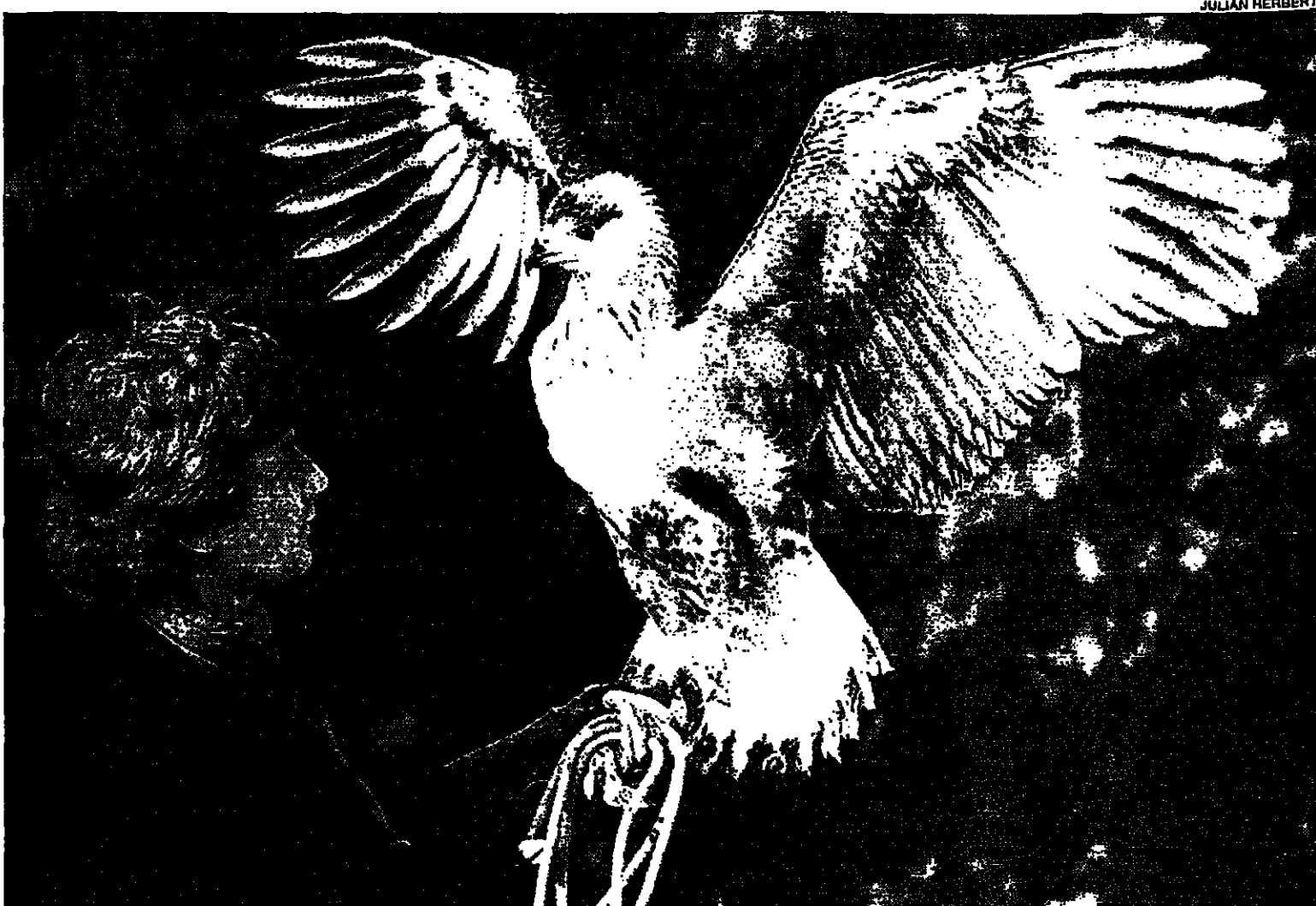
During talks with Home Office officials last month, the federation was told that while everything would be done to streamline frontier checks, ministers were simply not

prepared to remove immigration controls from borders. "Until they are prepared to do that we will simply be fiddling around at the margins," Mr Whitehead said.

"If you travel between Scotland and England there are no frontier checks," he said. "The borders between Britain and the other member states should be exactly the same. The fact that they will not be is nothing more than a hang-over from the old ways of doing things. Britain will be left out in the cold yet again."

Mr Whitehead said he sympathised with the government's conviction that increased vigilance at the European Community's external frontier would be insufficient to compensate for abolishing internal frontier controls. However, the government had not made any effort to help to strengthen the external frontier.

*The Times Guide to the Single European Market*, by Richard Owen and Michael Dynes, will be published by Times Books on April 23, price £8.99.



Featherweight: a ten-week-old African fish eagle with its handler Jemima Parry-Jones, owner of the National Birds of Prey Centre at Newent near Gloucester. It is one of two that Mrs Parry-Jones believes are the first to be hatched in captivity



Passport please: the EC says that immigration controls will violate the Single European Act

## Poll tax protesters jailed

Four poll tax protesters were sentenced yesterday for their part in a riot in Colchester, Essex, after a three-month trial estimated to have cost £5 million.

At Norwich crown court, Terry Frost, aged 23, of Colchester, was sentenced to two years in prison for riot; Andrew Hester, aged 21, of Alresford, received 18 months for riot; and Christine Hammett, aged 36, of Colchester, nine months for violent disorder. Patrick Tyler, aged 19, of Brightingsea, was sentenced to six months' detention in a young offenders institution for violent disorder.

Judge Binns acknowledged that many people were opposed to the tax but said that the disturbances had posed a grave danger to public safety.

## Attack penalty

Paul Chan-Collins, aged 27, of Clapham, southwest London, who bullied Ben Summerskill, aged 30, editor of *The Pink Paper*, a periodical for homosexuals, was sentenced to 80 hours' community service by Southwark crown court.

## Police cars hit

Four police cars were damaged by bricks and bottles and a stolen car was burnt out after over 30 youths gathered to watch joyriders in Littlemore, Oxford. Four youths were arrested.

## Tourist knifed

A Texan tourist aged 68 has suffered serious eye damage after being slashed with a knife on his face, body, legs and arms in Southwark, south London. His attacker made off with a wallet containing about £50.

## Priest accused

A Catholic priest was accused of gross indecency with a boy aged under 14 at Douai Abbey, near Reading, Berkshire. Newbury magistrates remanded Father Michael Creagh, aged 55, on bail.

## Regional best

The Birmingham *Evening Mail* was named Newspaper of the Year and Daily Newspaper of the Year in the *UK Press Gazette* regional press awards.

## Officers hurt

Two policemen were taken to hospital after a fight broke out in a food shop in Hackney, east London.

## School cuts prompt protest

By MATTHEW D'ANCONA  
EDUCATION REPORTER

PARENTS from 17 local education authorities gathered in London yesterday to protest at cuts at their children's schools and to support demands for a re-examination of educational funding after the election.

Reductions in local government spending and the pressure of formula funding, which links each school's budget to the number of pupils it attracts, have forced many schools to seek financial help from parents.

John Morgan, a parent and the chairman of governors at Crwys primary school in Three Crosses, West Glamorgan, said that the school was underfunded by between 10 and 15 per cent and that parents had stopped attending social functions because they knew that they would be asked for money. "We have managed to stay afloat only by making drastic economies," he said.

"We have lost a half-time teacher. We have made a massive cut in spending on essential equipment. Our children only have paper, pencils and books because we have used money donated by parents. But our community is a very mixed one and not all parents can afford to give money."

The head teacher, Mr Morgan said, was also doing the school's secretarial work and acting as caretaker in the evenings.

Jennifer Faulkner, a parent from St Paul's school, Dorking, Surrey, said that the school had raised £30,000 in the past five years from jumble sales and other emergency measures to meet the costs of basic equipment. "We seem to have a jumble sale system of education where a child's chance of attending a well equipped school depends on his or her parent's abilities at fund raising," she said.

The Campaign for State Education, which organised the meeting, argues that the extent of underfunding has been obscured by the reluctance of schools to appear vulnerable in the educational market place.

Sharon Goulds, of the school parents' association in Wandsworth, southwest London, said that cuts under discussion in the borough would mean classes of 40 and under-staffing of schools, but that head teachers had been prevented by the local authority from discussing the problem with parents.

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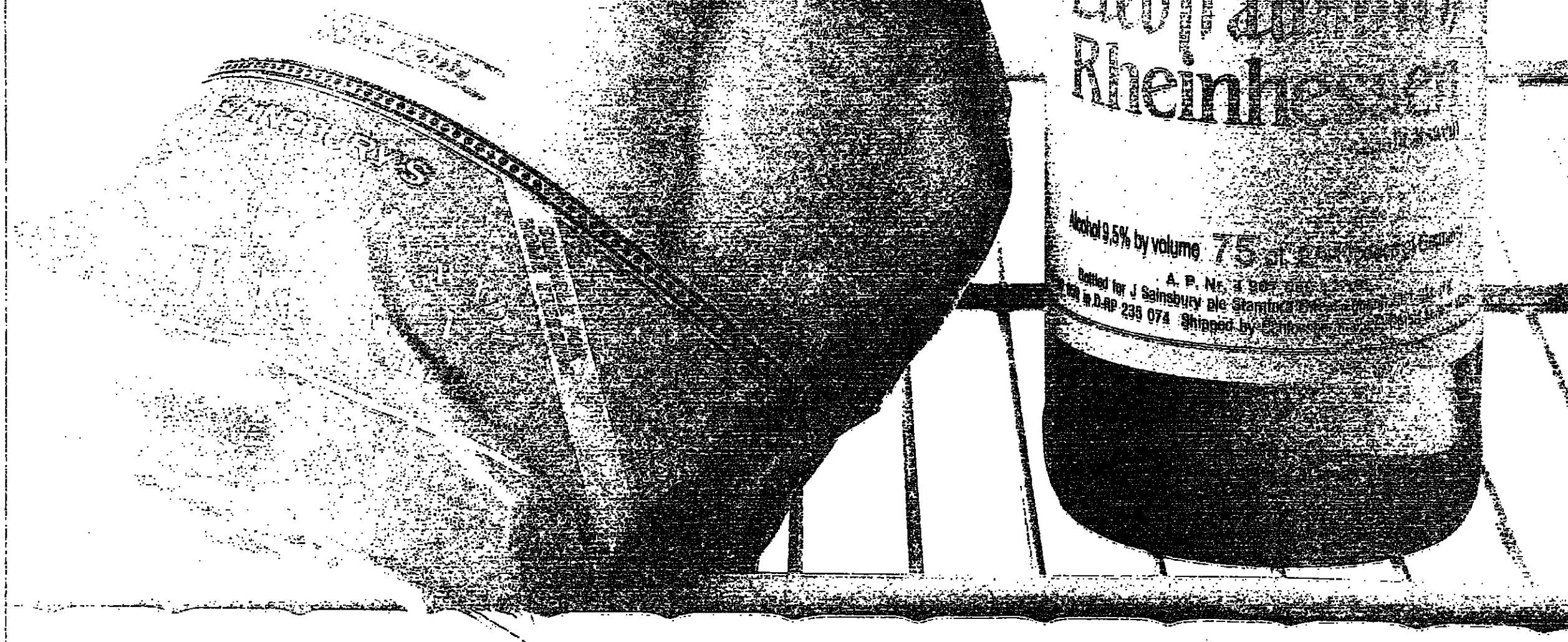
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On other pages

Simon Jenkins ..... 16  
Leading article ..... 17  
Lords Leaping, L&T ..... 5

Constitutional change rejected

# Baker claims PR has helped fascists to march again

By ROBIN OAKLEY, POLITICAL EDITOR

THE Conservatives launched their toughest attack on proportional representation yesterday. Kenneth Baker, the home secretary, said that PR could be "a pact with the devil" and that it had "helped the fascists to march again in Europe", making it easier for extremists to gain power.

He said that the fascist Republikaner party had taken 11 per cent of the vote in the state of Baden-Württemberg in German regional elections under the PR system. It was because of concern about the rise of migrants and would-be asylum seekers such as he had been voicing in Britain.

Mr Baker said that the other parties in Britain were not prepared to discuss the tough immigration and asylum laws on which good race relations depended and they would introduce in PR a political system which would "unleash extremists who fed upon public concern about this issue".

The German experience, he said, was "a terrible warning to us about what could happen if we threw away our system of first past the post elections. That is what Mr Ashdown wants us to do. It is what Mr Kinnock is prepared to do as the price for power".

The home secretary's comments came as the Conservatives took the risk of looking defeatist by focusing their London press conference on the Liberal Democrats' agenda of a hung parliament, PR and constitutional change. John Major was firmly against any concessions to Scottish devolution even if, as now seems likely, more than three quarters of Scotland's voters were to back parties supporting a Scottish parliament or independence.

The prime minister said that the issue had not been adequately debated and that the ramifications of devolution were not properly understood even in Scotland. Setting up a Scottish assembly could "lead to chaos, bitterness and move us a step forward towards separation".

Tax-raising powers for such a body would "raise the conflict threshold with the Westminster parliament". Labour and Liberal Democrat policies posed dangers to the future of the UK and he accused them of "already trying to trade policies between each other, even before the voters have had their say".

Only the Conservatives stood firmly for "the integrity of our parliament and our UK". Mr Major said that the other parties would "put at risk the links between Scotland and England which have held us together for nearly 300 years", with their policies leading on to full separation. Rejecting all notions of constitutional change, he said the issues of devolution and PR were more important than the general election itself.

He would make no concessions on proportional representation. PR would lead to "a government so weak that it could not take strong decisions". Douglas Hurd, the foreign secretary, said that nothing would put Scotland in a weaker position with the Treasury than Labour's plan for a Scottish parliament with tax-raising powers to cover just 4 per cent of Scotland's needs. A hung parliament would "hang the recovery", paralyse business decisions and smother consumer confidence.

Interest rates and mortgage rates would be likely to rise and "the recent flirtation of nods and winks between the Labour and Liberal campaigns would become a way of life". Everything would be done for party interests and nothing for the nation as Britain lived in an election atmosphere for month after month. "To expect the Liberals to control Labour would be like asking Dad's Army to restrain the Mongol hordes," Mr Hurd said.

Mr Hurd said that the other parties would "put at risk the links between Scotland and England which have held us together for nearly 300 years", with their policies leading on to full separation. Rejecting all notions of constitutional change, he said the issues of devolution and PR were more important than the general election itself.

## Major breaks with Thatcher on tax

By NICHOLAS WOOD, POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

TAX cuts for high earners over the next five years were ruled out by the prime minister yesterday in a move marking another sharp break with the Thatcher era. John Major said that he wanted to target any reductions in income tax on low earners.

He also made clear that the fruits of economic growth would be channelled mainly into public spending and the health and education services if he was returned to power. A fraction of the money would be held back to cut taxes for the low paid.

"I don't anticipate at the moment changing the 40p tax rate. The tax priorities I have are for the basic rate of 25p to come down to 20p," Mr Major told a press conference, during a campaign visit to the Southampton area. His remarks will be seen as a further attempt to appeal to skilled manual workers — the "C2s" whose votes are thought to hold the key to the outcome of the election. They contrasted with the agenda of Margaret Thatcher's government, which cut the top rate of tax from 83 per cent to 40 per cent, in two stages. Income tax at the basic rate was cut in four stages from 33 per cent in 1979 to 25 per cent in 1988.

Mr Major indicated that under his more consensual brand of Conservatism, any future help would be concentrated on people of modest means, who had benefited from the creation of a 20p tax band for the first £2,000 of taxable income, in the recent Budget.

He said that in the future any money left over after spending increases should go towards widening the scope of this 20p band so that it eventually embraced all taxpayers. Asked about the future balance between spending increases and tax cuts, he said the government had already made spending increases its chief priority. The £6 billion boost for public spending announced in the autumn statement had been "many times larger than Mr Lamont's £1.8 billion tax give-away," Mr Major said.

There would still be some room for modest tax cuts for the lower paid in the 1990s. The prime minister said: "Each year there is a dividend of some size to be divided between public expenditure and taxation. Some of it perhaps will go on tax reductions where appropriate, perhaps tax reductions on the stump and more of an ambitious military recruit attempting in double-quick time a series of bizarre stunts designed to test his drive, ingenuity and physical stamina."

After landing an interview with Mr Young, his orders had been to cycle to Brighton and back then abduct five penguins from Regent's Park Zoo, it would hardly have seemed out of keeping. Such is the aura which has surrounded his campaign drive.

I watched him in Liverpool. If the ambition was to shake more hands in fewer seconds while saying more "Hiyahs" than any glad-hander in history, then he was winning. If the challenge was to bear a litful of journalists travelling up to the ninth floor of a squalid tower block by running up the stairs, then he succeeded. If his orders were to get himself photographed remonstrating with a militant heckler, with a revolutionary poster as a backdrop, within six minutes of arriving in Broadgreen, then Captain Ashdown obeyed these, too, and the big yellow coach moved on.

Unlike the other leaders, Mr Ashdown has been in charge of his squad, not its mascot. He makes the running. His team just tries to keep up. He seems to love it. His campaign technique mirrors his approach at party conferences. It could be adapted for audio presentation and marketed as *The Ashdown Method* — a course in six cassettes. Its essential components are (1) an impression of huge self-confidence, (2) correct breathing and posture, (3) rapid movement through a series of "freeze-frame" poses, (4) five minutes' intense meditation before breakfast during which the students repeatedly chant *I really do love each person I shall meet today*, ringing a small bell between this and (5) the alternate chant: *My party and I are friends; they are on my side*. Ting-ting. Oh — and (6) two portable AutoCue screens and three speeches. Thus forearmed, Mr Ashdown sets forth. So far he has never faltered.

It is important to identify the strengths and limitations of the Ashdown Method. It works. It would not do so, I suspect, without a strand of sincerity, and a strand of deceit. I believe Paddy Ashdown really does

## Whitelaw criticised for rebuff

A Tory candidate yesterday criticised Lord Whitelaw for withdrawing support from Sir Nicholas Fairbairn because of his remarks about immigration under Labour.

John Whitfield, fighting Dewsbury, where immigration is an issue, backed Sir Nicholas's claim that the UK was in danger of being "swamped" by immigrants if Labour won. "I am disappointed that Lord Whitelaw refused to recognise the importance of this issue for those of us in areas affected by immigration," he said.

Gerry Adams, president of Sinn Féin, has a fight on his hands to retain Belfast West, according to a poll in the *Irish News*. It showed the SDLP candidate Joe Hendron with 28.75 per cent of the vote and Mr Adams on 20.5 per cent.

King slips up  
Tom King, the defence secretary, has infuriated a postman in his Bridgewater constituency by using a photograph of the two of them in election literature. The picture was taken when Mr King visited the Bridgewater sorting office. Mike Sanders, aged 59, said he was a life-long Labour supporter.

Shares switch  
A Tory victory would lead to 47 per cent of private shareholders increasing their portfolios but a Labour win would prompt 35 per cent to cut back, according to a survey by ShareLink, the stockbrokers. Some 20 per cent would reduce holdings in the event of a hung parliament.

Poster protest  
The Conservative candidate in Great Grimsby, Philip Jackson, has complained to the Labour party after posters saying "local man" were changed to "local maniac". Labour deplored the action.



Anxious wait: Neil Kinnock, John Smith and Gordon Brown, three men with high hopes, waiting patiently at yesterday's Labour press conference

POLLWATCH by Ivor Crewe

## PR switches to centre stage

The probability of a hung parliament and the nationalist advance in Scotland have together put constitutional change at the forefront of the election campaign.

Outside Scotland many voters care little and think less about constitutional issues. In the polls only 2 per cent cite electoral reform and allied issues as one of the two or three factors that will determine their vote.

Even among the Scots, according to the weekend's MRS/Scotland on Sunday poll, Scotland's constitutional status ranks as only the ninth most important issue, mentioned by 14 per cent.

For most people constitutional issues are too removed from everyday problems to loom large in their thoughts. Answers to opinion poll questions on electoral reform or devolution are therefore generally responses rather than opinions — superficial and volatile.

A clear but less than overwhelming majority tell the pollsters that they approve of proportional representation but disapprove of coalition (or minority) government. The most recent poll, by NOP for the BBC's *Panorama* programme in January, found that 56 per cent wanted "a change to a system of proportional representation, so the number of MPs for each party more closely reflects the number of votes cast", while 36 per cent wanted to "keep the present system of first-past-the-post to produce a government of the largest party".

However, the respondents preferred "government by a single party able to rule on its own" to "government by two or more parties working together" by 49 to 43 per cent.

The weekend's Gallup/Sunday Telegraph poll reported that in the event of a hung parliament voters split 45 to 43 per cent in favour of a minority gov-

ernment shortly followed by another election, rather than a coalition with either the Liberal Democrats or Ulster Unionists. Not surprisingly, opinion varied along party lines. Liberal Democrats divided 70 to 25 per cent in favour of coalition. Labour voters 44 to 41 per cent against and Conservatives 53 to 32 per cent against.

Question wording matters. People strongly dislike "hung parliaments", are evenly divided about "coalition government" but are in favour of two or more parties "working together".

MORI/BBC On the Record's poll of floating voters has found that their most common characteristic is a wish for a change. By resolutely rejecting all constitutional reform John Major associates the Conservatives with the one thing floating voters know they do not want — more of the same. Neil Kinnock has perhaps played on the mixed views of voters more skilfully. By refusing to entertain the possibility of coalition or pacts he has avoided the charge of defeatism and kept the anti-coalition Labour partisans in the electorate on his side. But by hinting at concessions on electoral reform he may have persuaded a crucial fraction of centre-left voters in Conservative-Labour marginals to vote Labour.

Paddy Ashdown has the trickiest hand to play. The NOP/Panorama survey found two-to-one approval for the Liberal Democrats' "right to insist on reform of the voting system before supporting one of the other parties" in a hung parliament. The problem is how to appear to have power while remaining even-handed between the parties. The prospect of wielding influence in a hung parliament might persuade floaters that a vote for the Lib Dems was not a waste.

## Lib Dems soften stance on terms

By SHEILA GUNN, POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

PADDY Ashdown yesterday hinted at a softening in his terms for a hung parliament by disclosing that he might be prepared to buttress a minority government without a commitment to voting reform.

Speaking on BBC's *Election Call* programme, the Liberal Democrat leader maintained that he was prepared to bring down a minority Conservative or Labour government but he could not give an "in all circumstances

undertaking". Mr Ashdown said: "You will understand sensible people don't close every option. Let us assume that the country was on the edge of war, a major crisis for instance with Libya. Let us assume that the pound was dropping like a stone and there was a major financial crisis in Britain. Obviously everybody has to do what they think is right and in the circumstances for the country's good."

The first sign of a willingness to compromise in his PR-or-no-deal stance reflects doubts within the party's ranks at bringing down a minority Labour government and provoking a second election in the depths of a recession and a broadly acceptable Queen's speech.

Earlier at a London press conference Mr Ashdown said that he did not anticipate his telephone ringing on Friday with an invitation from Neil Kinnock or John Major to talks on a coalition government. "If the phone does not ring that is not beyond what we have in our working hypothesis. We have not worked on the basis that the phone is going to ring the moment the polls close." With three days left, it was clear that the voters did not want either the Conservatives or Labour to win the election outright, he said.

Mr Ashdown returned to Richmond upon Thames, one of the party's most winnable seats, to urge voters to weather more attacks on the Liberal Democrats from the other parties. "Our opponents will distort our policies and misrepresent our words," he told a rally. "They will try to frighten voters back to the two old parties. And, best of all, the Labour party will say that we are really like the Tories, and the Tories will say that we are really like Labour."

Mr Ashdown went on to accuse the Tories of being interested in success only for the fittest of foot and Labour of never letting people get on their own achievements.

## Ashdown passes the initiative test

Bumping into Paddy Ashdown at the BBC yesterday — he was about to be interviewed by Jimmy Young — I had the impression less of a politician on the stump and more of an ambitious military recruit attempting in double-quick time a series of bizarre stunts designed to test his drive, ingenuity and physical stamina.

After landing an interview with Mr Young, his orders had been to cycle to Brighton and back then abduct five penguins from Regent's Park Zoo, it would hardly have seemed out of keeping. Such is the aura which has surrounded his campaign drive.

I watched him in Liverpool. If the ambition was to shake more hands in fewer seconds while saying more "Hiyahs" than any glad-hander in history, then he was winning. If the challenge was to bear a litful of journalists travelling up to the ninth floor of a squalid tower block by running up the stairs, then he succeeded. If his orders were to get himself photographed remonstrating with a militant heckler, with a revolutionary poster as a backdrop, within six minutes of arriving in Broadgreen, then Captain Ashdown obeyed these, too, and the big yellow coach moved on.

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### CAMPAIGN SKETCH

MATTHEW PARRIS

like people. In most politicians, years of exposure to bores, bigots and sleeve-tugger breeds a cold reserve. Mr Ashdown casts it aside with gusto. He gets a kick out of teamwork, and though with most of us half-fellow-well-met wears thin after three weeks, with him it does not. This cannot be faked.

What distinguishes the Liberal Democrat leader's campaign from its Tory and Labour counterparts has been the absence of evident tension within the Ashdown clique itself. They all look like friends. Mr Major's people, one feels, do generally approve, but their leader himself is often surrounded by a little posse of emotionless looking young men. Perhaps the problem is security. In Mr Kinnock's camp there is always a hint of anxiety about Mr Kinnock. How will he perform? How far need he be protected? Ashdown's energy melts such hesitation.

But if Mr Ashdown has volunteered an emotional and physical response well beyond what the other two have shown, the intellectual challenge — and response — has been niggardly. He rarely stops long enough for de-

tailed cross-examination of his programme: indeed there has been little demand for it. Time and again he gets away with a warm handshake, a rousing little homily about fair voting and about the childishness of his opponents — and a fast move into the next green pasture.

Meanwhile, Messrs Major and Kinnock face the flak that each has generated and directs at the other's programme. We have been able to see how each performs. However imperfectly, they are being tested. Ashdown is not. Captain Ashdown gets away with deploring gunfire generally and keeping out of the firing line himself: a privilege afforded to small parties whose manifestos are not yet taken seriously.

But soon, he will have to stop running, sit down, and answer cool and insistent questions. It is the success of his campaign so far which has brought him to this happy but awkward moment. I watched him yesterday being politely grilled by Jimmy Young, and noticed, for the first time, an intellectual raggedness, even panic, beneath the bravado.

An impression of rapid movement is vital to the Ashdown Method. But when the music stops, the contestants have to sit down, and there are not enough chairs, the game moves to a new phase. It should prove interesting.

## Gould hits back with interest

By JILL SHERMAN AND RACHEL KELLY

LABOUR stepped into the housing market fray yesterday when it claimed that homeowners would be more affected by higher interest rates under the Conservatives than under Labour.

Bryan Gould, the shadow environment secretary, hit back at John Major's claim that the Tories would bring down interest rates. Mr Major told the *Daily Mail*: "I believe, if we win the general election, the next move in British interest rates will be down and not up. If Labour win the election, it will be up, and quickly in my opinion."

Mr Gould's response was that home ownership during the 1980s became the opportunity to pay sky-high mortgages for a declining asset. Mortgage interest rates were 10.75 per cent on average under the last Labour government compared to 12.65 per cent under the Tories. After each of the three last general elections, interest rates had gone up, he said.

Independent analysis from the merchant bank Morgan Grenfell suggests that neither party will have much room to manoeuvre on interest rates because of the ERM.

### CAMPAIGN QUOTES

"Mr Major launched his campaign by calling us Paddy's roundabout. Well here we are and the swings are all to the Liberal Democrats!" — Paddy Ashdown

"Thank you, Paddy — don't call us, we'll call you!" — Michael Heseltine on the Lib Dem leader

"It is as if Dickens's Mr Micawber is left hanging around with Beckett's Godot!" — Neil Kinnock claiming the government is waiting for something to turn up

"I don't really know what they stand for. I saw George in an interview and he wasn't really sure what they stood for either?" — Ringo Starr on George Harrison's support for the Natural Law Party



THE

M

AN EIGHTY-hour quest was apparently complete for his celebrated prince, Narbonne, when we're on the verge of peace for the second time.

Cecil, famous by the a cappella blues of the Blue Belles, and his authorial "No, no, no, no, no" a symbol of the times.

Mr. J. performs the back-slap of when a minister is "No, no, no, no, no" in the country.

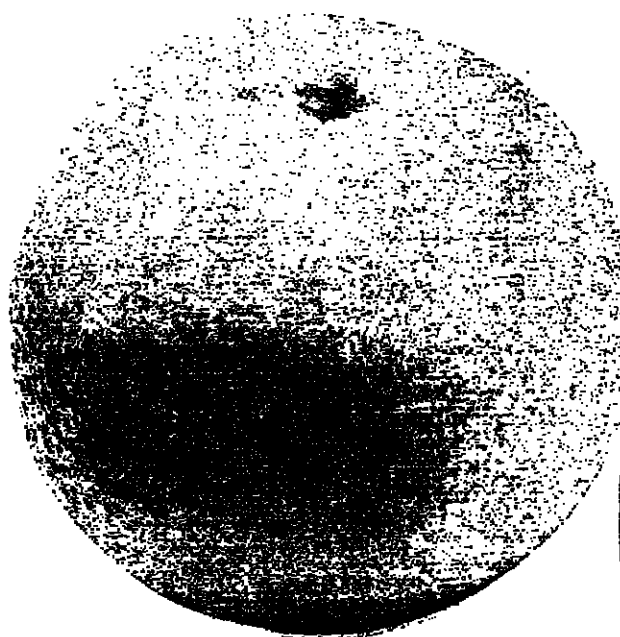
Back to the book, up to the shelves, to the shoppers, to the system. January for Lady in January. West.

The

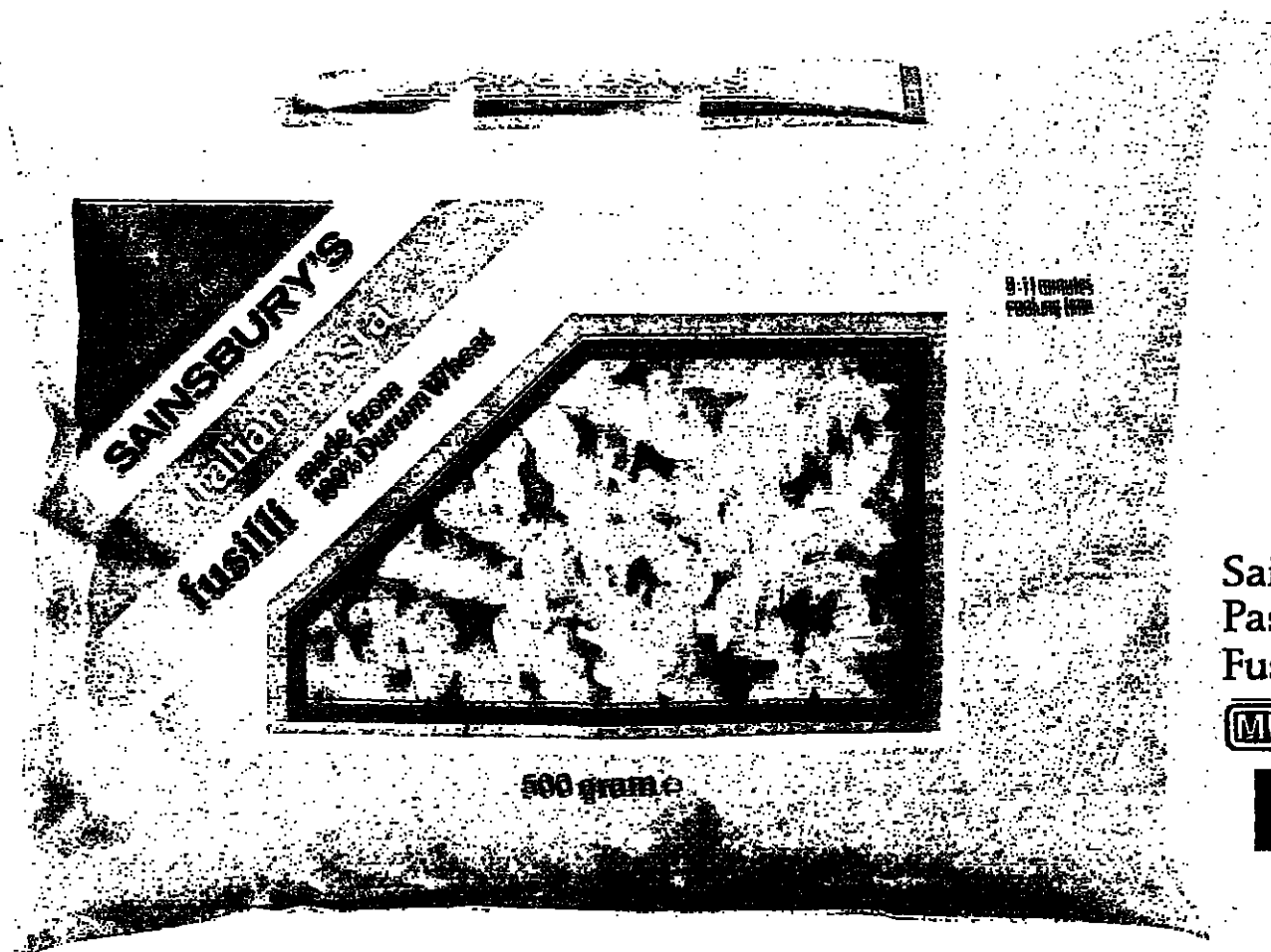


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**Paul  
birth**



Constituency profiles: party extroverts strive to capture the voters' attention

## Mr Janner and his actress friend tiptoe round town

BY BILL FROST

AN ELDERLY man in a trilby hat and very high dudgeon waved his walking stick angrily at the Labour candidate for Leicester West and his celebrity supporter yesterday as they began a stately progress around the Co-Op in Narborough Road. "You've got no right to molest us while we're shopping. I only came in for some bacon. Is there no peace from you lot?" the pensioner snarled.

Greville Janner took his famous actress guest firmly by the arm and hurried from canned soups to fresh vegetables. "I know her, I know her. It's Valerie Singleton from Blue Peter," trilled an old lady fingering the leeks. The actress beamed her brow. "No, no. Prunella Scales actually," she explains to the assembled audience with icy firmness.

Mr Janner meanwhile was performing for shoppers near the black treacle and golden syrup shelf. "Just you wait, when Neil Kinnoch is prime minister the sun will shine on us. Now come and meet the most famous actress in the county," he insisted, before propelling another pensioner in the general direction of the star attraction.

Back on board the battle bus, the Labour candidate took up his microphone and addressed rain-drenched shoppers through a deafeningly powerful public address system. "It's a lovely day," Mr Janner bellowed. "A lovely day for Labour on Thursday. Lady in green with the pram, Janner here in Leicester West."

The terrified woman

### LEICESTER WEST

1987 result: G E Janner (Lab) 22,156 (44.5 per cent); J S W Cooper (C) 20,956 (42.1); W Edgar (SDP/All) 6,708 (13.5). Labour majority: 1,201 (2.4).

clutched her chest and looked up as if expecting to see an alien spacecraft hovering overhead.

"Do turn it down Greville," the Labour candidate's wife, Myra, said a touch irritably. "When the volume is up so high it just distorts."

Mr Janner, gripping the microphone tightly, seemed not to have heard. His next bellow through the speakers inside the post office. Mr Janner grabbed a beaming baby and kissed her for the cameras. "It's his granddaughter. She loves the attention, she's a Janner," explained Laura Janner-Klousner, the child's mother.

As photographers demanded a close-up — "Pru, arm round Greville and give the baby a big kiss,luv," — Ms Scales said that she felt uncomfortable on the campaign trail. "It's very embarrassing, but as long as it makes people vote Labour, I don't care," she sighed.

An unshaven man in tracksuit bottoms and a lumberjack's cap offered Mr Janner some fashion tips. "Get yourself an astrakhan coat with a big fur collar so you look like an MP. And by the way, when you get back to Parliament, support hanging next time it comes up," he advised. "As long as you vote for me, we'll discuss that later," replied the Labour candidate.

Striding through a shopping centre, Prunella Scales was suddenly gripped by doubt. "Do you think this sort of thing does any good? I don't know," she asks anxiously. Before Ms Scales could be reassured, two uniformed security guards came between the snappers and their photo opportunity.

"Do you want the bad news or the worse news, Mr Janner?" one of the guards asked. "No photos here and no interviews either. That's the rules."

While his campaign team flagged visibly, the Labour candidate's energy and enthusiasm blossomed yesterday. Leicester West is a marginal and Labour's majority over the Tories last time was only 1,201. "We've lost 3,000 from the electoral roll, largely because of poll tax. Most of them would have been Labour voters," Mr Janner said.

"It's a lovely day today," the Labour candidate crooned as his battle bus, escorted now by a corporation dustcart sounding the horn in support, drew to a halt at another shopping arcade.



Singing in the rain: Prunella Scales electioneering for Greville Janner, the Labour candidate, in the rainswept streets of Leicester yesterday

## Kinnock to the fore in final broadcast

BY ARTHUR LEATHLEY

LABOUR forcefully countered attacks on Neil Kinnock's personal fitness to govern by thrusting him to the forefront of its final campaign push last night. The party's most rousing television election broadcast leant heavily on Mr Kinnock's image as a leader, banishing claims that the party doubts his vote-winning potential.

Mr Kinnock was the only politician featured in the last of Labour's five television broadcasts, marking a significant shift in emphasis since the campaign's start, when he was accused of hiding behind other leading Labour figures. Frequent shots of Mr Kinnock's electioneering and speeches underlined Labour's intention to capitalise on the rise in his personal rating. Since the start of the campaign, the opinion poll gap in public satisfaction with the two main party leaders has shrunk from 26 percentage points in John Major's favour to level pegging.

Labour strategists admitted last night that they seized on Mr Kinnock's surge in popularity to make him a more central part of the final broadcast, but insisted that it had always been intended to feature him prominently in the "highlights of the campaign" broadcast.

In a confident move, the broadcast featured prominently Mr Kinnock's speech last week to a rally in Sheffield, criticised by opponents as prematurely jubilant. Party managers, however, feel that the passion and positive mood of the address contrasted favourably with John Major's low-key approach.

Interspersed with Mr Kinnock's appearances were tributes from celebrities, including Stephen Hawking, the Cambridge academic.

## Harrison stands up for flying party

Harrison's concert was a blast from elections past, writes Lin Jenkins

The appearance of George Harrison, former Beatle and Hare Krishna devotee, on the stump for transcendental meditation last night evoked a different era of political debate.

For his first performance in Britain in 23 years Harrison stepped back to the days of Sergeant Pepper in a fund-raising concert at the Royal Albert Hall to endorse a bizarre political platform which promises to establish heaven on earth. The Natural Law Party espouses yogic flying — the ability to use the mind to levitate — and believes a "new coherence in national consciousness" will rid the country of its ills.

The party gives scant concession to modern political debate save to promise low taxes for all. Other goals such as the complete elimination of disease, crime, pollution, stress and failure are achieved through the mind, a philosophy echoing the pop culture of the 1960s.

Harrison, who still practices meditation, once persuaded the Beatles to sit at the feet of the Maharishi Mahesh Yogi in India in the belief that they could create "a beautiful nation". Ringo Starr, ever the down-to-earth Beatle, said he would prefer "chips at Blackpool".

One number chosen for the concert, and rehearsed briefly only the previous day, was the old Beatles number *Taxman*, a protest song with references to former prime ministers Wilson and Heath, which could only appeal to those there to wallow in nostalgia rather than be converted to the political wing of the Maharishi's World Government of the Age of Enlightenment of Great Britain.

Despite the party's policy that there is nothing they cannot achieve, a spokesman agreed that organising concerts was not their strong point. "We have failed to organise a venue for the Beach Boys who also support us. But with George we left it to him and he used a pop promoter to do all the organising. We have not had an instruction to release the information on who that is."

Indeed, Harrison has exercised total control. "At first he did not want the names of those performing with him released, but he has relented."

The concert was arranged in ten days. Tickets took a day or two to sell as the initial publicity appeared to be for a political rally and did not make clear that there was a concert. Tickets for the 5,000 seats cost between £15 and £27.50.



Harrison: a devotee since Beatle days

## Suburban waverers get short shrift from high-octane diarist

## Sutton stumped by Lady Olga

FOR the election campaign, Lady Olga Maitland, the former *Sunday Express* diarist, has turned her anti-CND group, Women and Families for Defence, into an anti-Labour group, Women and Families for Canvassing.

Lady Olga campaigns en famille. Hubby, Robin, and their three children, Alistair, Camilla and Fergus, all knock eagerly on the reproduction Georgian doors of Sutton and Chesson, the safe Tory seat that has landed in Lady Olga's lap after years of being spurned by less daring Conservative selection committees.

"Have you done No 46, Camilla?" the MP-to-be asks her daughter. Fergus shouts across to Robin, who orchestrates the leafleting campaign with the bossy harumphing of a drill sergeant, that "No 48 is for us". The operation is like some bizarre form of family picnic. You would not be at all surprised if Lady Olga gathered up her brood on the corner of Benhill Avenue, produced a flask of tea and some fish paste sandwiches from a Tupperware box and settled the family down for a rest and snack.

Then it would be off again, up and down the streets at a frantic running pace, as if canvassing were one of the competitions in *It's A Knock-out* and Lady Olga was playing her Joker Card, hoping for double points. Sir Alfred Sherman, the rightwinger from the Tory think tank and "an old chum", has come

The journalist Lady Olga Maitland has enlisted her entire family in her campaign. Joe Joseph tried to keep up

en for the afternoon but leaves half-way through, deciding either that Lady Olga has enough help or that he has mistakenly joined a training camp for the Barcelona Olympics.

Doorstep waverers get short shrift.

"I hope we can count on your support on Thursday."

"I'm not sure," comes a timid reply from a Don't Know.

"Do you want Neil Kinnoch?" asks Lady Olga, in the

1987 result: D N Macfarlane (C) 29,710 (60.8 per cent); R D Greig (L/All) 13,992 (28.6); L Monk (Lab) 5,202 (10.6). Conservative majority: 15,718 (32.1 per cent).

tone of voice that you might use to ask someone the question: "Are you some kind of pervert?"

As we run up the street, past Greenshow High School, she tells us that it is one of the only comprehensive schools in the area and Fergus asks her to explain the difference between a grammar school and a comprehensive. Since she plans to make education and defence two of her prime passions in parliament, we look forward to the reply: "A grammar school is somewhere where they take students who go on to take A-Levels. At comprehensives they take all different kinds of students, some of whom do also take A-levels." Now you know.

Sheltering under a huge "Free Kuwait" umbrella, Lady Olga says she is "raring" to get to parliament, but that she is "not going to go in feet first. I want to learn the ropes. I won't be a precocious enfant terrible. I want to be a serious parliamentarian. I don't want to become a circus act. It's too important for that. I don't want to be another Edwina Currie. But I will miss the *Sunday Express*. But I hope to continue freelance writing. One of the things, with all the writing I have to do now for political speeches or election addresses, is that it comes very easily."

This might give you the impression that her political speeches and election addresses are filled with the same social chit-chat, gossip about minor celebrities and even more minor royals, and party guest lists that fattened her *Sunday Express* columns. But in fact Lady Olga's election leaflets carry a snipe about Neil Kinnoch and the message that "We don't have to choose between local and best — with Olga Maitland we can have both", along with a group photo of the Women and Families for Canvassing team. At each doorstep, the leaflets emerge from under her poncho with the same flourish that Lee Van Cleef displays when he whips a Colt 45 from under his poncho in old spaghetti westerns.

There's no taste locally for Neil Kinnoch," she confides over lunch in the Bunch of Grapes pub, as if he were some exotic flavour of Haagen-Dazs ice cream that was far too obviously fancy for the down-to-earth people of Sutton.

She has gotten to know the people of Sutton very well, visiting the constituency almost every day since being selected last September. She says there is still much resentment among local Conservatives over the fact that Sir Neil Macfarlane, her predecessor, backed Michael Heseltine against Mrs Thatcher. To show that she wants to make amends and that she takes her new charges seriously she has promised to buy a small place in the constituency, making her the first person ever to choose Sutton as the site for a *pied-à-terre*. So next time you drive past and you see a lady straightening the frills in the living room nets, give her a honk. It'll probably be Olga.

## Minister fights them on the beaches

## Heseltine declines to put macho image on the line

BY RONALD FAUX

MICHAEL Heseltine declined an invitation to experience the Blackpool Avalanche yesterday. Photographers waiting on a bank of daffodils for the fearless front benchers to flash past them pinned to his seat by centrifugal force were disappointed.

Mr Heseltine, in town to support Tory candidates in the key marginal constituencies of Blackpool South and Blackpool North, pleaded a pressing timetable when invited to board the latest "white knuckle" ride at the resort's pleasure beach. He clearly preferred avalanches of a different kind.

He posed with the two candidates in one of the ride's carriages, but after a hurried lunch of chicken and soup must have calculated shrewdly that there was potentially more to lose than to gain from the photo-opportunity. He ruled out enduring the four-minute trip launched in 1988 by Eddie the Eagle Edwards and the British bobsleigh team. Never mind that Kenneth Baker, without Mr Heseltine's macho reputation to maintain, had ridden the Avalanche with his wife when the Tory party conference was last in town or that Doris Compton, aged 89, chairman and owner of the pleasure beach, had hurried round the stomach-churning bends of the attraction.

"I'm not riding on it," he declared, to the dismay of the pleasure beach managers. He strode for the exit to address an audience of pleasure beach employees on the dangers of Labour's promise of a minimum wage. "Sounds attractive," he said. "But how many of you would see your differentials narrowed and want to see them preserved? Once that starts to happen we are back on the inflationary cycle and the whole economic momentum slows down."

The tourist industry on which their jobs depended would be the first to suffer, he said. Mr Heseltine was soon away, striding briskly through the empty fun-fair to his next engagement, declining a final approach from the photographers. He had more important business, alerting

other Tory marginals in the North-west to the damage socialism would inflict. The Blackpool Conservative candidates were glad to see him. There is distinct nervousness in the Tory campaign, particularly at Blackpool South, where Nick Hawkins, their candidate, hopes to take over the seat held for many years by Sir Peter Blaker. "It is on a knife edge, very precarious," one party worker admitted, recalling the days when Tories held Blackpool with a majority of 20,000 or more. The poll tax and recession were chiefly to blame for the decline, he thought, and for Labour taking over control of the Blackpool borough council.

In Blackpool South, a strong campaign by the Labour party and Gordon Marsden, its candidate, had also had an impact alarming to the Tories. Mr Hawkins and Mr Marsden are old adversaries dating back to when they were at Oxford University arguing the merits of Conservatism and socialism.

Mr Hawkins, who read jurisprudence, said: "I remember him then, but this time he has spent a lot of time trying unsuccessfully to do deals with the Liberals. Each has been trying to persuade the other to stand down, arguing that a Tory vote is a wasted vote. In Blackpool South, that is stretching credulity."

1987 result: N A McCampbell (C) 20,680 (48 per cent); E Curton (Lab) 13,359 (31); C J Heyworth (L/All) 9,032 (21). Conservative majority, 7,321 (17 per cent).

1987 result: Sir P Blaker (C) 20,312 (48 per cent); S Baugh (Lab), 13,568 (32.1); J Allitt (SDP/All) 8,405 (19.9). Conservative majority, 6,744 (15.9).

## Uncertainty lurks behind mock-Georgian doors

BY ALAN HAMILTON

### BASILDON

1987 result: D A Amess (C) 21,858 (43.5%); J G H Fulbrook (Lab) 18,209 (36.3%); R M Auvray (L/All) 9,139 (18.2%). Conservative majority: 2,649 (5.3%).

Mr Amess that she is definitely voting for him because she wants an assisted place for her nine-year-old daughter at a boarding school.

Mr Amess, aged 40, an East Ender, has had the benefit of tenure since 1983, and is a well known local figure. He is pro-capital punishment and strong on defence, a desirable combination among the C2 voters of south Essex.

He believes he can hang on to his 2,649 majority: new owner-occupied housing on the edges of town, as more Essex Men move up a social notch from Ilford and Romford, works in his favour. So does a high poll tax of £361 imposed by a Labour council.

Mr Amess stalks the housing estates in a motor caravan whose loudspeakers, in the manner of an ice-cream vendor, play his jingle: "Vote,

vote, vote, for David Amess" to the tune of "Tramp, tramp, tramp, the boys are marching". At house after house he hears of personal problems, assiduously takes down details, and promises to chivy up officialdom.

But for many in Bilsdon, the Thatcherite good life that made the skilled working class vote Tory in 1983 and 1987, has turned sour. According to John Potter, aged 54, the Labour candidate and a former computer manager at the Ford car factory: "There is disappointment and frustration, which is turning to anger. The people of Bilsdon are paying the price for the Thatcher years."

Ford, by far the largest local industrial employer, has announced 800 redundancies in recent months. GEC-Marconi, another big employer, has shed 60 jobs. But, says Mr Potter, the big problem has been housing.

"Many people who bought their council houses cannot keep up the mortgage payments, and repossession is running at a high level. These are lost voters, because they are mostly now in DSS bed and

breakfast accommodation outside the constituency, as local authorities have been unable under the Tories to build public sector housing for them." Others who bought their houses from the new town commission were dismayed that the buildings were subsequently found to be suffering from structural defects. The commission bought them back at 95 per cent of market valuation.

Most of those may have been probable Tory voters, but at the same time the Labour camp is concerned at the number of their potential supporters who have disenfranchised themselves through unwillingness to pay poll tax. Mr Potter has no reliable figures, but the Tories believe there may be as many as 2,000 in the constituency.

Back at his campaign headquarters, Mr Amess is becoming deeply exercised over rumours that he voted in favour of foxhunting in Kevin McNamara's recent bill. "I will sue anyone else who suggests that," he declares hotly. Not, you understand, that fox hunting can be said to be the overpowering issue of the moment in Bilsdon new town.



Pause for breath: David Amess breaks yesterday to celebrate the second birthday of his daughter Alexandra, right, with her sister Sarah, aged three







# Jittery Ulster unionists launch campaign against Labour's McNamara



McNamara: pledged to honour agreements

WITH A Labour government looking increasingly likely, Ulster Unionists have started a vilification campaign against the man they believe could become the next Northern Ireland secretary: Kevin McNamara, Labour's Ulster spokesman.

In a message to Neil Kinnock the Unionists claimed that Mr McNamara's nationalist views and close identification with the party's policy commitment to a united Ireland by consent, would seriously damage the chances of progress in any further inter-party talks on the future of Northern Ireland.

Mr McNamara remained cool in the face of this predic-

## Edward Gorman examines unionist claims that the shadow Ulster secretary would work towards a united Ireland

able onslaught. He underlined that Labour was committed to honouring all previous agreements and in particular Article 1 of the Anglo-Irish agreement, which affirms that change in the status of Northern Ireland can come about only with the consent of the majority living there.

At the weekend Jim Molyneux, Ulster Unionist leader, said that if Mr McNamara turned up at Stormont, he would not ignore him but would attempt to deal directly

Irish republican and as such his presence here would be unwelcome.

Mr Taylor said that Mr McNamara would spend all his time working for a united Ireland against the wishes of the majority in the province. "His presence will greatly damage the prospects of the talks. There would be suspicions from the word go about his independence and impartiality by the majority parties."

Officials of the more extreme Democratic Unionist party, described Mr McNamara as a renegade unable to distance himself from explicit or implicit support for the republican movement. "There is no evidence to support this

charge. In a radio interview broadcast in Ulster at the weekend Mr McNamara emphasised that he respected the opinions and traditions represented by Unionist leaders and expressed the hope that they would respect his views in the same way.

"I intend, if I get the job, to treat everyone fairly and squarely and to respect their ideas and their aspirations as I hope they will respect other people's," he said.

On the talks, he tried to head off unionist fears that they would face a united front of two governments and the Nationalist SDLP all committed to a united Ireland. "We are not seeking to impose any particular Labour

agenda on the talks," he said. "What we want to do is encourage the talks, to promote the talks to get agreement." He added that Unionists had never called into question Peter Brooke's impartiality as chairman of the process, in spite of the fact that he "was and is a Unionist".

Unionists hope that Mr McNamara will not get the job he has cherished for nearly five years. In a hung parliament his head would be at the top of their list in a deal with Labour, but that itself is an unlikely prospect.

Mr Kinnock is not obliged by party rules automatically to appoint Mr McNamara — one of two unelected members of the shadow cabinet —

but Labour sources predict he will not flinch from appointing his old friend. It was being suggested that Unionists were deluding themselves if they thought making a lot of noise would turn Mr Kinnock's head. It was more likely to do the opposite.

In reality unionist bluster might quickly die down, especially if Labour returns to power with a clear majority, though in the case of a minority administration unionists may keep it up, hoping Mr McNamara will be replaced after a second election. The chances of serious progress in the talks are probably slightly diminished under Mr McNamara's stewardship, but they are not very strong anyway.

## Constituency profile: Ron Brown fights on Supporters keep their affection for the devil they know

By KERRY GILL

THE door in Earl Haig Gardens had hardly opened before the elderly woman behind began telling off Ron Brown for his association with Colonel Gaddafi. "I know you Mr Brown, you're a nice man but I don't like all these meetings with Gaddafi. You should keep away from him." Mr Brown tried to explain that he had seen the colonel solely in the interests of the British community in Libya, but it did little good.

Although the shadow of the Libyan leader has continued to loom over Mr Brown, it has done him rather more good than harm in Edinburgh Leith, where he is fighting to retain his seat having been dumped by the Labour party after his conviction for damaging a former lover's flat.

Most locals yesterday appeared to understand Mr Brown's motives in visiting Libya. None more so than Robert Paton, whose son-in-law Michael King was imprisoned by the colonel, but freed after Mr Brown's intervention. "We tried everybody, all the political leaders, but it was only Ron who took any notice," Mr Paton said.

Mr Brown's posters have enraged the official Labour candidate, Malcolm Chisholm, and his party. The posters declare that Mr Brown, too, is the official Labour candidate. No wonder many voters, particularly the elderly, are confused. Mr Brown, who

claims that he was not desecrated but was the victim of an undemocratic ballot organised by Labour's national executive, has taken the case to the Court of Session, Scotland's supreme civil court. He claims to have been "politically blacklisted".

The case is tortuously involved and Mr Brown bravely tried to explain it on the doorsteps. Most of the housewives and pensioners at home yesterday smiled politely and promised him their vote.

Mr Brown tended to play down his strong popular following, saying that "Leithers" backed him because he held by the old tenets of the Labour party.

### EDINBURGH LEITH

1987 result: R D M Brown (Lab), (below), 21,104 (49.3%); D A Y Menzies (C) 9,777 (22.9%); Mrs S Wylie (SDP/All) 7,843 (18.3%); W Morrison (SNP) 4,045 (9.5%); Labour majority: 11,327 (26.5%).



not the "glitzy nonsense" of the Kinnock regime. But there was no mistaking his popularity — a man in a bomber jacket lurched across busy Leith Walk and yelled: "All the way Ron! Mind you give them a doing in court!" This was a reference to Mr Brown's other court battle, over non-payment of poll tax.

Despite the notoriety Mr Brown has amassed since being elected to this once marginal seat, his majority has increased to almost 12,000. Those who recall his exploits do so with more affection than contempt. A supporter, reminded that Mr Brown had been arrested for lunging and shouting at Margaret Thatcher, been banished from the House of Commons and had damaged the Commons mace, replied: "They were seen as very acceptable demonstrations up here, all anti-Westminster."

"Our Ron" seemed to be the way people regarded him, with an affection not normally reserved for MPs. One old man, confined to his house, said: "Ron's the devil I know. I don't want no devil I don't."

Driving through Leith in his red Peugeot, Mr Brown explained the Libyan connection: "People keep saying that I am a friend of Colonel Gaddafi. It's not true. I have been going to Libya to keep in touch with the British community and I have had five people released. In fact I have only met the man twice; usually I am negotiating with his staff. The point is to keep talking to people like Gaddafi."

The conversation was interrupted by the appearance of three Scottish National Party canvassers around a corner. They gave Mr Brown a friendly wave that was reciprocated. "I get more sympathy from them than the other lot," he said, those being "Kinnock's Labour party".

Mr Brown, whose offices on Leith Walk have dispensed with Labour's red rose in favour of the old logo depicting a spade, a torch and a pen, said that he was hopeful of keeping his seat and that perhaps the increasingly strong SNP vote might split that of Mr Chisholm.

As he rapped on another door, he asked: "Do you think a lot of the Tories will vote for the Lib Dems?" At that moment the door opened. "Hello, I'm Ron Brown..." The old man, standing in his dressing gown and pyjamas, replied: "No thanks, and shut the door. You can't win them all."



Uphill task: Clement Attlee campaigning in 1945 and his great niece Cath Attlee, who is standing in Windsor and Maidenhead. The Tories have a 17,826 majority, leaving her little hope of following in the former Labour prime minister's footsteps



## Labour maintains lead in marginals History stacks odds against last minute swing to Major

By ROBIN OAKLEY, POLITICAL EDITOR

JOHN Major may now be pursuing an unattainable goal. If the Conservatives are to make a sufficient recovery in the last two days of the campaign to return to government they will have to inspire a movement in public opinion greater than that achieved in nine of the past ten general election campaigns.

No party in government has been known in postwar elections to add to its support during the final week of a campaign and in most recent elections the Conservatives have had a lesser result on the day than in the previous weekend's polls. A series of five opinion polls in Sunday's

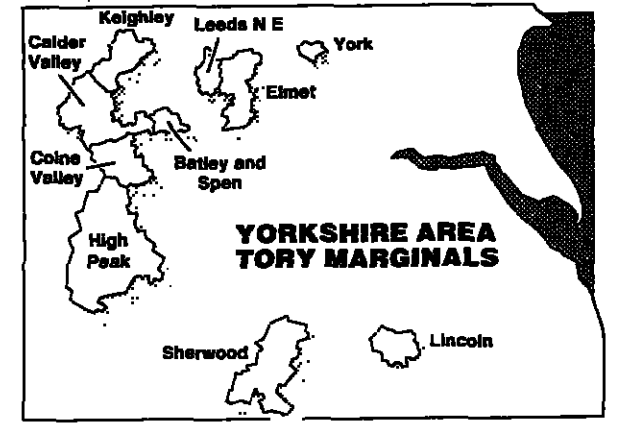
newspapers averaged out at Labour 39.8 per cent, Conservatives 36.9, and Liberal Democrats 19.

A survey of elections from 1955 to the present, conducted by Bob Worcester, chairman of Mori, shows that in four of the contests (1955, 1964, 1966 and October 1974) there was no movement in Conservative support from the beginning to the end of the campaign.

In two of the contests (February 1974 and 1983) there was a swing of 0.5 per cent against the party during the campaign; in one (1987, when there was a big Conservative lead) the swing was minus 1 per cent; in 1992 it

was minus 1.5 per cent and in 1979 minus 3 per cent. Only in 1970, the year of Edward Heath's victory, when the movement was a hefty 5 per cent, was there a campaign swing in favour of the Conservatives of sufficient magnitude to turn the present Tory standing in the polls to an election-winning position.

The Conservatives' difficulty in seeking re-election against the background of recession is underlined by the fact that three in ten people say that they or members of their immediate family have experienced unemployment or redundancy in the past six months. A Mori poll, conducted from March 20-24, found that 34 per cent of people intending to vote Labour had personal or family experience of unemployment or redundancy in the past six months. A Mori poll, conducted from March 20-24, found that 34 per cent of people intending to vote Labour had personal or family experience of unemployment or redundancy in the past six months. A Mori poll, conducted from March 20-24, found that 34 per cent of people intending to vote Labour had personal or family experience of unemployment or redundancy in the past six months.



## Scotland Cost of Tory policy too high, says church

By KERRY GILL

ONE of the most influential of the Church of Scotland's committees has delivered a stinging criticism of the government's economic policies claiming that, although they have reduced inflation, the human cost has been "unacceptable in a civilised and caring society".

A report, published today and to be presented to the church's general assembly next month, criticised Norman Lamont, the Chancellor, for his remark that unemployment was "a price well worth paying". It said that such an attitude was hollow and cynical, particularly to families suffering job losses.

The church and nation committee said: "Skill training programmes, increased public investment to upgrade the environment and modernise transport links, cash help for local authorities to tackle the housing crisis and a sensitive regional policy could improve greatly the situation in Scotland." It also wel-

comed a reduction in arms spending and cuts in defence, although it recognised that the peace dividend could mean further unemployment. More job losses was a matter of great concern, the committee said.

"The government must accept the responsibility of initiating steps to encourage redeployment and, in some cases, retraining of defence workers in order that their skills may be used in non-military employment."

The committee questioned top salary increases, some of which it described as astonishing. It asked whether the public could have any confidence in people who defended the idea that senior management would take responsibility only in return for "these enormous sums".

Meanwhile, Tom King, the defence secretary, who was in Scotland, warned the public not to trust Labour and Liberal Democrat defence policies, which differed from constituency to constituency, audience to audience. "When a Labour spokesman departs," he said, "a Liberal Democrat arrives bearing the same two-faced message. Trust us, they say, your jobs or local defence interests will be safe with us. From the Labour party committed to 27 per cent cuts this is bad enough. From the Lib Dems, who are aiming for 50 per cent cuts, it is twice as cynical."

Later, in northeast Scotland, Mr King continued his criticism of the opposition parties' defence policies. The nationalists, he said, would leave Scotland no better defended than Austria or Finland. RAF Lossiemouth and RAF Kinloss, key Nato bases, would be lost and with them many local jobs.

## Deselected MP takes a hiding

By BEN MACINTYRE

AT 11.15am yesterday, John Ernest Douglas Delavalente Browne evaporated. A spokesman would say only that the independent Conservative candidate for Winchester was campaigning somewhere in the city, but claimed not to know where or how he could be contacted.

His mobile telephone was not working, his movements were undecided and his future plans uncertain, she said. On the other hand she could fax him some questions and fax back the replies.

The candidate has good reason to want to avoid direct questions: chief among them being why he is running at all when the party has deselected him and put up an official Conservative candidate, Gerry Malone, a Scottish journalist and former Tory MP for Aberdeen South.

Mr Browne's decision to fight the seat as an independent Conservative prompted a statement from Richard Ryder, the government chief whip, to the effect that in the event of his being re-elected, the Conservative whip would never again be extended to him. "You are no longer welcome as a member of the parliamentary party or any of its committees," Mr Ryder wrote.

The effect of Mr Browne's candidature has produced a split Conservative vote, or at the very least a confused one, in what is an archetypal Tory constituency. The future MP, however, could turn out to be the Liberal Democrat candidate Tony Barron.

As with all former MPs who are defeated in an election, Mr Browne would be entitled to a resettlement grant worth, in his case, about £20,572.

Mr Browne has already survived an attempt to deselect him and saw his majority in 1987 cut from 20,000 to 7,479. Two years ago, he was suspended from the

1987 result: J E D Browne (C) 32,195 (52.3 per cent); J L MacDonald (SDP/All) 24,716 (40.2); F G Inglis (Lab) 4,028 (6.5); J P Walker (Grn) 565 (0.9); C majority 7,479 (12.2 per cent).

House for 20 days after his answers concerning his business interests failed to convince a Commons committee. Mr Browne still has enough support to disturb his Conservative opponent. "He is even calling himself Conservative on the ballot papers," a spokesman for Mr Malone said.

Mr Browne has offered to settle the matter of who should garner the Conservative vote by drawing straws with his Conservative opponent today.

## VOX POP by Peter Barnard

## Real people want to know about policy

Does television insist on a hung parliament or are we allowed to elect a majority government? The question arises after the past two days, in which we have seen Paddy Ashdown interviewed at length by the professionals and questioned in some depth by mere voters. An interesting difference of emphasis emerges.

On Sunday, Brian Walden introduced his eponymous show, which consisted of an interview with Mr Ashdown, with the words: "It's likely that this Friday your party will hold the balance of power in a hung parliament."

That was on independent television. At the same time, on BBC1, Mr Ashdown was interviewed for more than 15 minutes by Jonathan Dimbleby and spoke about nothing but proportional representation and deals with a minority government.

The whole of Walden concerned itself with PR and deals with a minority government.

Yesterday morning, Mr Ashdown was the guest on BBC1's *Election*

*Call*. Most of the people who phoned in did not ask him about PR; they wanted to know about Liberal Democrat policies. They wanted to know, in short, why they should vote for Paddy Ashdown's party.

Throughout this campaign, there has not been the slightest indication that the electors were about to rush out and vote for PR. Mr Ashdown continually quotes (he did it again yesterday) polls that show a majority of people want "fair voting". Well of course: a majority of people want "better education" and a majority of people are against sin. Pollsters ask these questions in isolation. They do not ask: are you prepared to vote Liberal Democrat to get "fair voting"?

Therefore even Walden's opening proposition was suspect. Polls may suggest a hung parliament, but the real poll could well produce something different. People often flirt with the third party during a campaign and return to the mainstream on election day. That point was not put to

Mr Ashdown in either of the last two interviews.

Yesterday *Election Call* produced three questions (out of a dozen or so) from the public that were clearly about a hung parliament, including one that I have heard no professional interviewer ask Mr Ashdown: if both main parties offered you proportional representation, which one would you support?

Mr Ashdown replied but did not answer. Perhaps professional interviewers know he will not, but there must be many voters who would like an answer. Apparently they will only get it after the electors have produced the hung parliament that television seems to be so anxious to bring about.

One sometimes wonders if all the effort that goes into setting up electronic studios and other whizz-bang election gadgetry is regarded as something of a waste, unless it can be wheeled out twice in the same year. Perish the thought.

Across the same ten seats at the general election in 1987 party support was Labour 35 per cent, Conservatives 44 per cent, Alliance 20 per cent and others 1 per cent (compared with a national standing of Conservatives 43 per cent, Labour 32 per cent, Alliance 23 per cent and others 2 per cent).

Reflecting a pattern very similar to that of nationwide polls, Labour's vote has improved by one point over the fortnight of campaigning. Conservative support has dropped 2 points and that of the Liberal Democrats has risen two points.

Compared to the 1987 election result there has been a swing of 10 per cent to Labour, two points more than the record 8 per cent swing which the party requires nationwide for an overall majority.

## Jail-cell Militant 'in lead'

IT IS not unknown for MPs to make the journey from Parliament to prison (Kerry Gill writes). It is rather less usual for the newly elected to be sent from prison to Parliament as Tommy Sheridan, the Scottish Militant Labour candidate, hopes will happen on July 1 once he is released.

Mr Sheridan, jailed for six months for defying a court order banning him from attending a poll tax warrant sale, yesterday claimed that he had achieved 31 per cent support in his campaign for Glasgow Polltax against 27 per cent backing for Jimmy Durnachie, the sitting Labour candidate.

At his second and final news conference in Saughton prison, Edinburgh, Mr Sheridan said that the figures were based on canvass returns from over 19,000 voters. His campaign has taken on the sub-title "Send Tommy from prison to Parliament", and he hopes to cause as big an upset to Labour in Glasgow as did Jim Sillars, the Scottish National Party deputy leader, when he wrested Govan from Labour in November 1988.

## Bewitched, Betrothed at Bentley's

The most exquisite betrothal rings come from Bentley & Co. who buy and sell the loveliest of beautiful rings may be viewed at 65 New Bond Street, London W1, and the Bentley Collection, an illustrated compendium of antique and period jewellery, may be obtained by telephoning 071-629 0651.

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Sleep deprivation

# Fatigue robs politicians of their edge

By Dr Thomas Stuttaford

BEFORE the invention of television few voters had the opportunity to see their politicians at close quarters. If candidates were suffering from sleep deprivation the electorate at large did not know. Now when voters look at the huge bags under Chris Patten's eyes, they see that politics during an election is a 24-hour a day slog.

Politicians are used to late night sittings in the House of Commons for crucial divisions but their work seldom demands that they appear daily in front of the cameras at 7am. This is beginning to show in their haggard faces. Worse still, they are obliged to appear until 2am the next morning defending their parties' gaffes of the previous day. Is it surprising that they seem slow off the mark?

The Tories have especially been blamed for missing their cue over Labour's alternative budget. The dependence on civil servants after 13 years in power was blamed for the debacle. But was it really because Mr Patten, the party chairman, was too busy commuting from London to his Bath constituency while, by his own admission, waking up after three hours' sleep screaming about the progress of the campaign?

The average sleep requirement is 7½ to 8 hours. Too much or too little sleep is associated with increased mortality and morbidity. Younger people need more sleep than those who are older but there are wide variations. Winston Churchill abandoned the standard sleep pattern and ate, slept and worked at times to suit himself. Margaret Thatcher trained herself to need little sleep, but even she on a long trip once forgot which country she was in. On another occasion, an overtired minister

made a stirring speech in landlocked Thetford, Norfolk, on the traditions of the British Navy, thinking he was in Deptford, southeast London.

Politicians should not have fewer than six hours' sleep. The effect on those who fail to achieve that quota can be seen in the tight, sweaty facial skin, the growing bags under the eyes and the bloodshot conjunctivae that develop as the lack of sleep takes its toll. The edge in the voice of a tired candidate is also noticeable.

Children are not the only ones who become tired and fractious when deprived of sleep. Adults may be more adept at hiding their irritability, but they suffer in the same way, and may be just as unreasonable. More important, however, than irritability and appearance is the question of judgment, says Dr Alice Parshall, a sleep expert at the Maudsley hospital in London. Sleep deprivation robs people of the ability to make a sound judgment; particularly when many factors have to be considered.

At grassroots level, the demands on a candidate can seem never ending. Houses, hospitals, factories, schools and public houses all have to be visited and, even after the evening's last meeting, there are the workers on night shifts to be canvassed. Between the late night assessment of the day's events and early morning canvassing of bus queues and railway station platforms there is little time to rest.

Sleep is not just an inert state in which the psyche is out of touch with the world. It is an active process in which the brain continues to work. Research has shown that there are two different patterns of sleep, slow wave in which there are four levels of somnolence, and rapid eye movement which is the dream laden sleep.

Evidence suggests that people need a certain total amount of sleep, and that about 25 per cent of that should be rapid eye movement sleep. If patients, or politicians, are deprived of either they become irritable and increasingly slow witted. Later they may become paranoid and depressed.

Sleep deprivation also causes physical changes. The autonomic control of the blood vessels may be poor, hence, in part, the red eyes, the clammy, sweaty, swollen feet, and the pale but glowing face of the tired politician.



## Gamblers bet to shorten party odds

AN ANONYMOUS first-time punter has wagered £14,000 on the Conservatives retaining an overall majority this week, the largest bet taken during the campaign.

His potential winnings of £150,000 are overshadowed by the Liberal Democrat supporter who has pledged £2,000 in an attempt to reverse the odds and further boost the party's ratings in the polls. Daniel Victor, from north London, stands to make £500,000 if the Liberal

Political punters are putting their money where their votes are. Louise Hidalgo reports

Democrat supporters would follow his lead, boosting the party's credibility. "There are many people who would vote Liberal Democrat if they thought the party had a chance of winning," he said.

The tactic does have a successful precedent. John Murphy, an independent candidate in district elections in Cork in the early 1980s, was swept to victory by a landslide after supporters' bets reduced the odds on his being elected from 20:1 to 7:4.

In America the swing gained by enhancing a candidate's credibility through the bookmakers — dubbed the "Big Mo" (big momentum) — has been used by campaigners within the US and abroad.

The odds British bookmakers are offering on the latest contender in the US presidential race, Ross Perot, the independent candidate and Texan computer magnate, have spiralled from 200:1 to 5:1 in recent weeks even though his challenge has not yet been endorsed. Ladbrokes received one pledge worth £25,000 last week as campaigners invested in improving their distant candidate's standing.

The odds on the Conservatives achieving a majority of between seven and 12 seats were unchanged, however, by this weekend's wager. They remained at 14:1, with the odds on the party winning more seats overall at 2:1. The Liberal Democrats enjoyed a brief surge, with the odds on them winning more than 60 seats falling to 50:1.

Ladbrokes latest odds on number of Lib Dem seats:

Nil	1,000/1
1-5	100/1
6-10	25/1
11-15	16/1
16-20	4/1
21-25	9/4
26-30	9/4
31-35	4/1
36-40	16/1
41-45	40/1
46-50	45/1
51-60	50/1
60+	50/1

Democrats confound history and take the 304 new seats they need to win outright.

The bookmakers have refused to be swayed and this weekend mirrored the latest opinion polls. The odds on a hung parliament fell to 8:13 and the odds on Labour emerging as the largest party were cut to 4:11, the shortest any party has enjoyed during the campaign.

Mr Victor, whose gamble was calculated to effect the kind of rise the Liberal Democrats showed in yesterday's opinion polls by triggering a cut in the bookmakers' odds, said he was pleased with the results so far, despite his party standing at odds of 400:1 against winning the most seats.

A professional punter, Mr Victor placed his wager in the hope that other Liberal



World-weary: the strain of round-the-clock electioneering is evident on the face of Chris Patten, who has been masterminding the Tory campaign

JAPANESE VIEW by Katsuji Miyazaki

## Slow start is Britain's way

AN election in a foreign country provides a feast for the political journalist. We Japanese learnt, imported and even smuggled some ingredients of the Westminster system into our Diet, or so I was taught. These ideas came to Japan over 100 years ago, along with British industrial technology, then the world's finest.

However, my first experience of a general election here gives me a sense of living in the looking glass world. Our "Westminster" system seems very different from the British beast.

Even before the campaign, I started to wonder. The day the election date was announced, I rang an MP to ask him how and when his campaign would start. I was told, "Well my posters and campaign literature are still at the printers and it will be at least ten days or so before things really get under way."

I had been expecting something like the first day of a Japanese campaign. In the early morning, the candidate and a crowd of his (or her) supporters gather at the candidate's election office for the campaign kick-off. The candidate makes a brief speech; the crowd ebullient, high-spir-

ited with sake. Then the cavalcade moves out, canvassing on the campaign trail. My MP friend was right, of course. On the first day of the campaign, nothing happened, only the Common Cryer and Sergeant at Arms of the City of London shouting the decree of dissolution from the steps of the Royal Exchange.

The same evening, I watched John Major on television, strolling in Huntingdon, smiling that Major smile. That also surprised me. Our leaders rarely campaign for themselves. Their duty is to devote themselves to the party's cause: *noblesse oblige*.

Moreover, on his stroll, he accepted a side of smoked salmon from a supporter! A politician accepting a gift! On television! In front of many journalists! In Japan we tend to assume that people offering presents to politicians have ulterior motives. They do.

Even more incredible to a Japanese observer is the fact that the British electorate seems to believe what politicians say during the election. All Japanese know the reality of life: the politicians often lie, or at least conceal the truth.

That is why I am amazed by the fact that opposition leaders are insisting on a tax increase. Hail to John Smith and his party: brave enough to announce tax increases before the election.

Money is another matter. Legal limits on campaign spending seem to be observed here. Japanese law also limits spending. But candidates or their authorised agents who are arrested for bribing the voters with sake and dinner parties are regarded as rather amateurish.

In Britain, the election process has been hijacked by the party leaders, aided and abetted by the national media. Television has removed the personal touch and devalued the role of the candidates. Perhaps we see this reflected in Parliament with strong leaders now leading sheepish MPs.

In Japan, candidates must still sweat and strain among their grassroots. When they arrive in parliament, they are more confident and expect to have more say in the party and in national politics.

Katsuji Miyazaki is European editor of Asahi Shimbun and chief of its London bureau.

# AT LAST, THREE POLLS WITH A CLEAR LEADER.

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## Regional party wounds Rome coalition

# League splits mould of Italian politics

FROM JOHN PHILLIPS IN ROME

UMBERTO Bossi, the fiery leader of the League of the North, saw his dream of a new *risorgimento* come true yesterday as northern voters inflicted a humiliating defeat on the ruling Christian Democrat party.

Giulio Andreotti, the prime minister, remained barricaded in his office at the Palazzo Chigi for most of the day as general election results rolled in. It was left to an ashen-faced Christian Democrat spokesman, Enzo Carra, to concede that the projection was a political earthquake not only for the Christian Democrats but the political system as a whole.

Christian Democrat strategists clutched at straws as computer projections of the party vote for the chamber of deputies reached 29 per cent, compared with 26 per cent in the senate. Commentators said it was unthinkable that Signor Andreotti would be able to revive his discredited four-party coalition together with Socialists, Social Democrats and Liberals. First results for the chamber showed the four parties together getting 48 per cent of the vote.

First projections show the League of the North garnering 9.3 per cent of the vote in the chamber, which would give it up to 80 seats com-

pared to only one in 1987. Signor Bossi, aged 50, sporting his long black and grey locks recalling his past as an unsuccessful rock singer, looked stunned by the extent of his success. He immediately held out the prospect of the league joining a future government if the traditional parties were willing to undertake radical devolutionist reforms. "It depends whether the state wants to remain centralist or to go towards the future, that is to say toward federalism," he said.

Political experts said a more palatable prospect for the Christian Democrats in the horse-trading, that will begin during informal contacts today, would be to create a *governissimo* that would bring into office both the Republicans, who left the government last year, and the former communist Democratic Party of the Left (PDS). First projections showed the Republican vote as relatively disappointing for the chamber, with only 4.5 per cent compared to a target of 6 per cent. The PDS vote in the chamber was within the range expected at 16.4 per cent.

Signor Carra held out an olive branch to the PDS. "One must see if the PDS will follow the extremist positions on its left or if instead it will choose to enter into a different orbit."

Republican leaders last night made clear that only a dramatic change in attitude by the Christian Democrats to reform the electoral system and political institutions could tempt them back into government. The shock in Christian Democrat circles was most evident on TG-1, the state-run television channel controlled by their party. Bruno Vespa looked aghast as guests on his programme asked whether the Montecitorio parliament building would become a fractured "Polish Diet."

It was a different story for Leoluca Orlando, the former Christian Democrat mayor of Palermo, who saw his newly-founded anti-mafia party, the Rete (Network), win a significant foothold in parliament with about 2 per cent of the vote. Signor Orlando predicted that "one will be able to construct a new type of politics."

There is little doubt that Italy faces weeks of uncertainty if not chaos with the Christian Democrats badly shaken by the huge protest against its long-term inability to address political corruption, mafia crime and economic problems. While the Christian Democrat defeat in the lower chamber was more contained than in the senate, the reverse appeared to be true for the Socialists who saw their vote in the chamber of deputies fall from 14 to 13 per cent, according to first projections. It remained to be seen whether Bettino Craxi, the Socialist leader, would keep a pledge to resign if his party's showing fell below 14 per cent.

Historic defeat, page 1  
Leading article, page 17

## Creator of robot ethics dies of heart failure

FROM CHARLES BREMNER IN NEW YORK

ISAAC Asimov, the patriarch of modern science fiction, founder of robot ethics and one of the most prolific authors in history, died of heart and kidney failure in New York yesterday. He was 72.

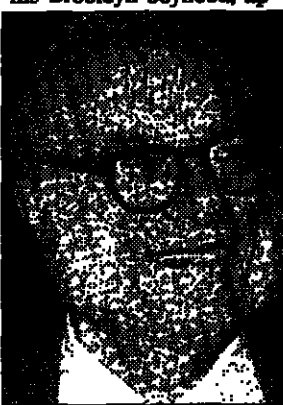
Only a week ago, the Russian-born writer who dreamed up galactic empires and turned out works on almost everything from religion to Shakespeare, published his 468th book, *Asimov Laughs Again*, a collection of his favourite jokes and anecdotes. It concluded with a characteristically sunny note: "No matter what happens now, I've had a good life and I'm satisfied."

A compulsive worker who spent eight hours a day composing in his Manhattan flat, Asimov did not wish to end his days "face down on my typewriter".

A biochemist by training, Asimov had towered over the world of science fiction since the early 1950s when he produced a collection of stories which, long before artificial intelligence or high-speed computers, transformed the way the world thought about sentient machines. Rather than the evil monsters envisaged by Hollywood and the pioneers of sci-fi, Asimov's machines were placed at the service of humanity. His three laws of robotics, still largely followed in the genre, stated: a robot must not injure a human being or, through inaction, allow a human being to come to harm; a robot must obey the orders given it by human beings; a robot must protect its existence, as long as such protection does not conflict with the first or second law.

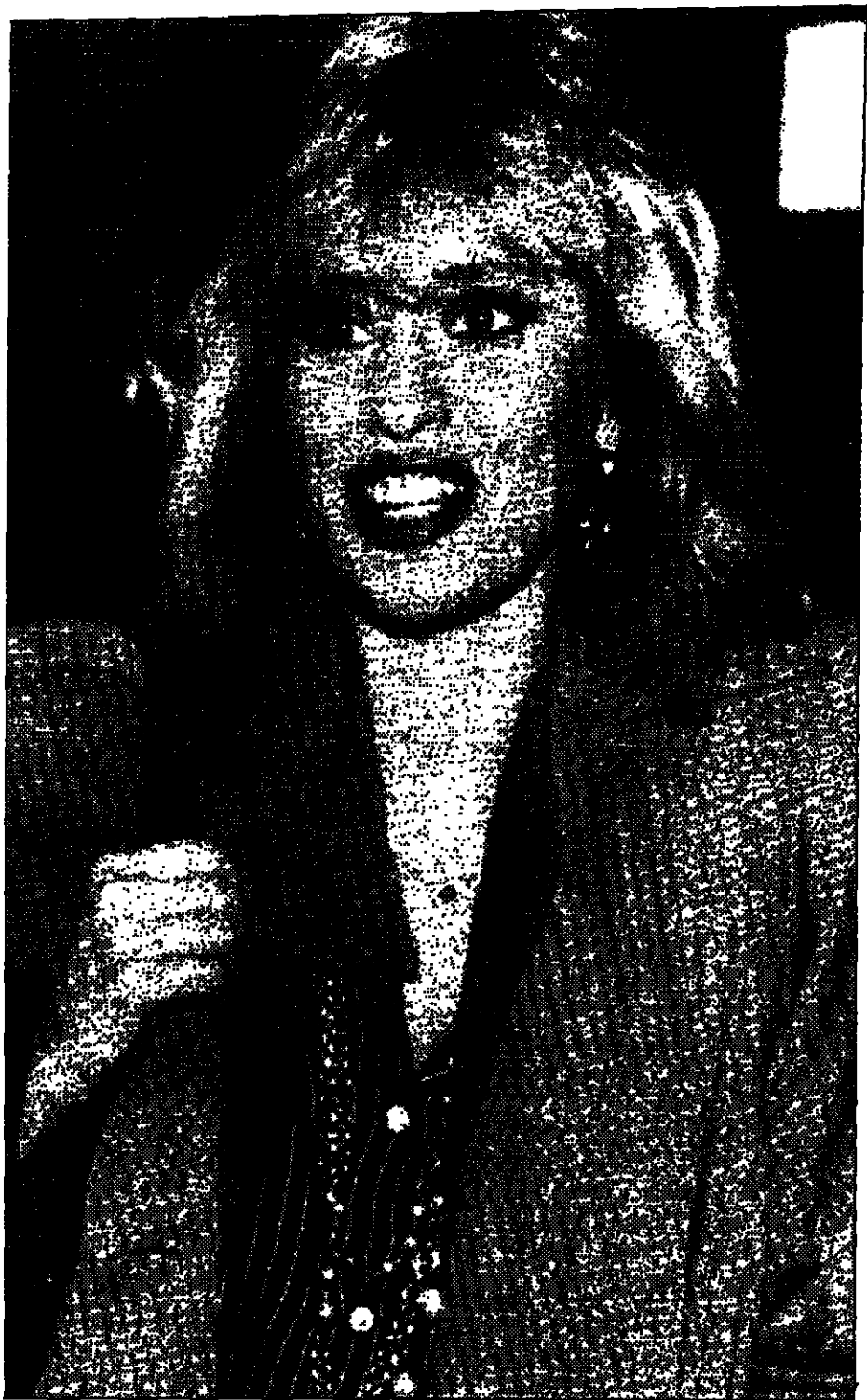
In 1948, Asimov added a fourth law, which he called "zereth", which allowed for a future in which robots could acquire political power. Taking precedence

over the other three, it stated that "a robot may not injure humanity or, through inaction, allow humanity to come to harm". Asimov's most famous work was *The Foundation Trilogy*, the 1950s account of the fall of a mighty empire and of Hari Seldon, the genius who rebuilds it using the science of "psychohistory" to predict the control of the future. Sci-fi, Asimov would say in his Brooklyn boyhood, ap-



Asimov adapted the classics and history peals more to people of higher intelligence than any other literature. Asimov's hallmark was clarity and a playful approach that became stronger after a bout of heart disease a decade ago left him convinced of the ability of humanity to survive. He was serious about his science and held a professorship of biochemistry at Boston University until his death, but he never attempted to bamboozle. He broke his rules of plausibility only in the *Fantastic Voyage*, about an expedition of miniaturised surgeons inside the bloodstream of a dying man. For his plots, Asimov always said he simply adapted history and the classics.

Obituary, page 19



Making her mark: Alessandra Mussolini, a candidate of the neo-fascist Italian Social Movement, casting her vote. The party was projected to make gains

## Yeltsin survives opening skirmishes in congress

FROM MARY DEJEVSKY IN MOSCOW

ON THE opening day of the Russian Congress of People's Deputies, President Yeltsin and his radical Russian government managed to beat off their first formal challenge from the opposition. However, much of the time was spent in fruitless skirmishing over the agenda, producing a succession of votes which showed just how carefully Mr Yeltsin must still proceed.

Voting on three key questions illustrated the current balance of forces in Russia's supreme legislature. A call from a moderate conservative deputy to hold a vote of confidence in the government included in the agenda was defeated by Mr Yeltsin's supporters with a margin of only 30 votes.

A motion from a radical deputy for a vote of confidence in Russian Khasbulatov, the chairman of the standing parliament, was defeated by more than 500, leaving Mr Khasbulatov — an increasingly shrill critic of the government — secure in his post. A call by anti-Yeltsin deputies to force the president to deliver the keynote speech on the economy, rather than delegate it to his reform chief, Yegor Gaidar, was approved by a similar margin.

The figures show that Mr Yeltsin's radical government is strong enough to survive its trial by parliament, but only just. The opposition forces constitute more than two-thirds of deputies attending the congress, making its ranks stronger than at the previous congress last October, and giving the opposition — were it united — the possibility of defeating President Yeltsin on votes of principle (which require a two-thirds majority).

Fortunately for Mr Yeltsin, the opposition is disunited, although more than 300 deputies from six separate factions have formed an alliance to strengthen their position for the duration of the current congress.

As the voting showed, there is also a significant group which is sharply critical of the government, but not yet to the point where they want to oust it. Many of these deputies are genuinely motivated less by ideological considerations than by the plight of their constituents as prices rise, the money supply is curbed and jobs are lost.

These are the groups Mr Yeltsin has been trying to placate over the past week with personnel changes,

promises of trimming back the harshest aspects of his reforms, and measures to increase pensions, wages and help for agriculture. His sabre-rattling over the Black Sea fleet and the dispatch of Aleksandr Rutskoi, his vice-president, to the mainly Russian-populated Crimea and Trans Dnestr region at the weekend may also have been intended in part, if not mainly, to garner votes.

One of the problems facing the radicals is that the full Russian parliament was elected two years ago, before the demise of the Communist party or the Soviet Union. Any attempt to broach the possibility of new elections, however, encounters even more opposition than the current economic reforms, as so many deputies fear they would lose office.

This is the first congress since the disintegration of the Soviet Union, and the first at which Russia's supreme legislature is functioning as the legislature of a fully fledged state. The change in status has not been reflected in any significant change either in the composition of the congress or in its attitudes.

St Nicholas, page 1

## Cossacks find Slav cause to fight for

FROM ROBERT SEELY IN TIRASPOL

THE Druzhba (Friendship) Hotel was once favoured by Soviet anglers fishing on the River Dnestr. By last week, however, the hotel was converted into an armoury of daggers, grenades and Kalashnikovs.

The Cossacks have flocked from the Don, Kuban and Ural regions of Russia to the Slav enclave of Trans-Dnestr where violence has left dozens dead in the former Soviet republic of Moldavia. Yesterday's meeting of foreign ministers from Russia, Ukraine, Moldova and Romania in the Moldavian capital of Kishinev was a last-ditch attempt to halt the descent into civil war.

Vladimir Kotchenov, a Cossack, said: "We have come here to defend the Russian people." An unemployed lorry driver from a village north of Rostov-on-Don, dressed in a blue, red and green tsarist uniform, he aimed to prove himself worthy of Cossack traditions. "You cannot become a Cossack, you must be born one. Although it is traditional that we Cossacks never raise our weapons first, ultimately the only way to prove a true Cossack is in battle."

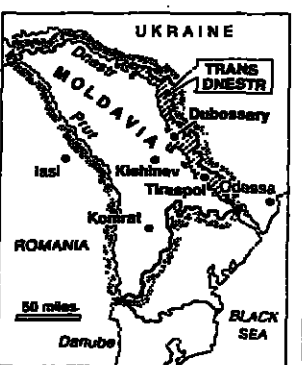
The Cossacks' romanticism is fanned by boredom with provincial Russian life, the wish for a good scrap and the need for a cause. That belief is in the rebirth of Russian nationalism. Nights in Bender, a frontier town on the Moldavian side of the Dnestr, are broken by sniper fire and the rattle of Kalashnikovs as opposing guards pick each other off from behind checkpoints.

Moldavia's government has no army yet, but 4,000 national guardsmen are being trained to retake Trans-Dnestr by force. If need be, by the end of April, another 12,000 teenagers will be conscripted into Moldavia's nascent armed forces.

In Moscow yesterday Aleksandr Rutskoi, the vice-president of Russia, who visited Trans-Dnestr at the weekend, condemned the killings there and blamed the Moldavian government. In a speech to the Russian Congress of People's Deputies calculated to appeal to its strong "Russia first" lobby, he said: "No slogans of independence or sovereignty can justify the deaths of people on both sides in the shooting. Until Russia guarantees the protection of its citizens, wherever they live... there will be military conflicts on the former territory of the Soviet Union. However, he avoided suggesting Russia should take over the region or redraw the border."

Money matters  
Paris: Michel Sapin, the new French finance minister, said it was not true that he knew nothing about money. He had collected ancient coins since a child and learned about power being founded on a strong currency and heavy coins as in ancient Greece. (Reuter)

Reptiles found  
Sydney: Two Germans were charged in Darwin with trying to smuggle live snakes and lizards out of Australia after customs officials found the reptiles in packages bound for Germany at Brisbane airport. They could face 10-year sentences. (Reuter)



## Far right forces German democrats to rethink immigration

GERMAN ELECTION RESULTS				
	Results (1986 in brackets)	per cent	seats	
Baden-Württemberg				
Turnout	70.2	(71.8)		
CDU	39.6	(49.0)	64	(88)
SPD	29.4	(22.0)	46	(42)
Republicans	10.9	(1.0)	15	(3)
Greens	9.5	(7.9)	13	(10)
FDP	5.9	(5.8)	8	(12)
Schleswig-Holstein				
Turnout	71.4	(77.4)		
SPD	46.2	(48.2)	45	(46)
CDU	33.8	(33.3)	32	(27)
DUV	6.3	(0.7)	6	(2)
FDP	5.6	(4.4)	5	(5)
Greens	4.57	(2.9)	1	(1)
SSW	1.9	(1.7)	1	(1)
Total			89	(74)

The Greens were 297 votes short of the total needed to reach the 5 per cent threshold. There is to be a recount next week and if this finds they have enough votes they will be given 4 seats.

The SPD is a party for the Danish minority in Schleswig, which has one guaranteed seat in the parliament.

Total of asylum seekers and German refugees since 1981 is 3,510,874 (total to June 30, 1990, when currency union between the two Germanies meant the category of refugee was abolished. Since then, however, an average of 1,000 east Germans a week has continued to move west).

WHILE the far right celebrated winning seats in two state elections as "a tremendous breakthrough for the people" yesterday, Germany's two main democratic parties agreed on the urgent need to thrash out an effective joint policy to stem the flood of refugees into Germany.

Both Helmut Kohl, the Christian Democrat (CDU) chancellor, and Björn Engholm, the Social Democrat (SPD) leader, held lengthy post-mortems at their headquarters here into their humiliation at the hands of extremist parties in Baden-Württemberg and Schleswig-Holstein. Afterwards Herr Engholm said it was time to meet round what he called "a round table of common sense" to agree ways of radically reducing the flow of refugees into the country, which is currently running at 1,600 a day. Herr Kohl, at a separate press conference, said it was time for the two parties together to solve the big problems facing the country. It was necessary to solve them, he said, before the next round of elections in 1994.

However, there was no sign from either leader yesterday that the shock results from the state elections had done anything to make them likely to compromise on the central issue which has divided the two parties on the asylum

Germany's main parties know that a policy on refugees must be found to stop the far right but cannot agree on what it must be, Ian Murray writes from Bonn

question for months. Each angrily blamed the other for encouraging more than half a million votes on Sunday to back racist policies.

Herr Kohl insisted that the only solution was to change the constitution in a way which would deny the right of asylum to anyone coming from a free country and which would refuse entry to any refugee trying to come into Germany from another democratic country. This would include both people from newly independent republics in Eastern Europe as well as genuine political refugees arriving via a nearby country such as Poland, Britain or France.

Herr Engholm, however, is just as determined that Germany must keep an open-door policy for all asylum seekers and that the constitution must therefore not be changed. He only wants to sit round the "table of common sense" to discuss ways of reshaping the economy to end the poverty, unemployment, housing shortage and taxation policy which he believes make Germans resent for-

eigners and vote for the far right.

Without the SPD's support, Herr Kohl cannot obtain the two-thirds majority he needs in the Bundestag to pass the constitutional amendment, which is already drafted and waiting to be put before parliament. At his press conference yesterday he virtually acknowledged that the SPD would not change its mind. The best he could now hope for, perhaps, was that the EC would help Germany by introducing a common policy on immigration which would take precedence over the constitution.

The SPD accuses Herr Kohl of having playing the racist card in an attempt to win the two elections. According to Herr Engholm, the tactic was to frighten voters by saying that the SPD was blocking the constitutional change which was the only way of stopping the "foreign invasion."

The CDU freely admits that it did make this claim, but insists that it was true and that the SPD has only itself to blame for being obstinate on



Poll casualties: black eyes for Herr Kohl, left, and Herr Engholm, in the *General Anzeiger*

the issue. Both parties, however, lost votes to the far right, with the under-thirties in particular giving their support.

Both the CDU and the SPD lost heavily in the larger cities, dropping over 10 per cent in some areas, while the Republicans in Baden-Württemberg won nearly 20 per cent in inner-city areas of Stuttgart and Mannheim. The German People's Union (DUV) was almost as successful in Kiel and Lübeck, the main centres of Schleswig-Holstein, following up its success last November in the nearby city state of Bremen, where it also won more than 6 per cent of the vote.

Had the far right not been splintered into a number of smaller parties it would have done even better. Their combined support in Baden-Württemberg was 12.5 per cent and in Schleswig-Holstein it reached 7.5 per cent.

In both states this was significantly better than the score of the liberal Free Democrats (FDP), who have been sidelined because of their support for the SPD's position on the asylum question and because they are also part of Herr Kohl's federal government, where it also shares the blame for the deteriorating state of the economy.

The outcome is particularly

## Premier loses Baku struggle for power

Moscow: Hassan Hassanov, Azerbaijan's prime minister, has been dismissed in an apparent power struggle in the former Soviet republic. Interfax said yesterday.

The news agency said Mr Hassanov was removed on Sunday by Yagub Mamedov, the acting Azerbaijani president, and appointed as the republic's ambassador to the United Nations. He will be replaced by Feri Mustafae, his deputy.

Tofik Gasimov, a leading member of the republic's Popular Front, said Mr Hassanov was removed to "push him out of the battle for the post of president". The elections are on June 7. (Reuter)

## Speaker picked

Tirana: A former political prisoner, Pieter Arbori, has been chosen as speaker of the first democratically elected parliament in Albania since the war. Sali Berisha, the leader of the majority Democratic party, is expected to become president. (Reuter)

## Rail men strike

Amsterdam: Dutch rail workers staged a nationwide strike, bringing rail traffic to a virtual stop, after pay talks broke down. Commuters who took to the road found 60-mile long tailbacks on some of the main highways. (Reuter)

## Candidates fail

Andorra la Vella: Andorra will hold a second round of voting after an inconclusive result in the general election in which candidates failed to obtain majorities. About 82 per cent voted for 60 candidates standing in seven parishes. (Reuter)

## Spies arrested

Karlsruhe: A former East German intelligence officer and an ex-employee of the American mission in Berlin have been arrested on suspicion of spying for the former Soviet Union. The alleged offences were committed prior to unification. (Reuter)

## Sales slump

Warsaw: Poland's nascent pornographic press has suffered a sharp slump in sales after a boom last year. The decline is variously blamed on stern admonishments from the Catholic Church, competition from video porn or a shortage of cash. (AFP)

## Money matters

Paris: Michel Sapin, the new French finance minister, said it was not true that he knew nothing about money. He had collected ancient coins since a child and learned about power being founded on a strong currency and heavy coins as in ancient Greece. (Reuter)

## Reptiles found

Sydney: Two Germans were charged in Darwin with trying to smuggle live snakes and lizards out of Australia after customs officials found the reptiles in packages bound for Germany at Brisbane airport. They could face 10-year sentences. (Reuter)

serious for the CDU in Baden-Württemberg since it cannot form a majority government unless it forms a coalition with the SPD. Having ruled the state on its own for 20 years, this is particularly galling for the CDU, which has more satisfied itself clinging on to its overall majority of seats in Schleswig-Holstein. At the same time the message from both elections is clear: if the far right can hold together until 1994, it would hold the balance of power in the next Bundestag.

Franz Schönhuber, the former Waffen SS sergeant who leads the Republicans, was the one leader riding high yesterday. His party now has 20,000 signed-up members, he said, and he promised that over the next few weeks there would be "a spectacular" number of people joining who were fed up with the two main parties. He said all applicants would be vetted to ensure that there were no "black sheep" among them.

The Republicans' continuing success depends on the influx of foreigners. The party splintered and nearly disappeared after unification, but has gained strength in the past year in working-class districts, where foreigners are found temporary housing.

Leading article, page 17



# Brown and Clinton stage a love-in for New York



Brown: says only two candidates are left

THE New York primary campaign ended yesterday with Bill Clinton dissecting the policies of the "brain dead" and Jerry Brown denouncing "complicity with evil".

But, for once, neither was attacking the other. In a gracious television debate, conducted with no moderator, both Democratic candidates decided that the advantage lay in displaying shared opposition to the president.

In the 10 days' battle before today's poll, the two men have directed fire at each other and received still fiercer fire from the New York press. Even yesterday morning they were yelling at each other on breakfast television.

But for the final confrontation, the closest that they came to a blaze was when Mr Brown arrived in Rockefeller Plaza to find no pencil and paper by his chair. "If he gets paper, I get paper," said the former governor of California

In what was billed as their final confrontation, the Democratic front runners united to turn their fire on the Republicans, Peter Stothard writes

while a small group of newspaper reporters waited for the headline that never came.

"It's the lovefest," said one, but he could not see the line making page one.

The two men had their separate reasons for peace yesterday. Mr Clinton's team was sure that it had won New York already.

Nobody liked to say so too loudly, since the electorate is surely, can be sensitive and has been divided by history into more ethnic sub-sections than a Cairo market. But as long as Mr Clinton was forced into no new confessions and made no new mistakes, he would triumph, aides believed.

Mr Brown would have

liked to force an error from Mr Clinton, but his chief concern was to win back some moderate support, to appear intellectual and careful, and to stop Paul Tsongas from coming back into the race.

He is enjoying the limelight and does not want to lose his place. Asked about Mr Tsongas's return after the television recording was over, Mr Brown dismissed it with the words that there were "basically two candidates" left.

Mr Clinton was much more open about a return of the former Massachusetts senator who left the race for lack of money two weeks ago. "I like debate," he said with a welcoming smile.

Mr Clinton also seemed too

exhausted to lead an anti-Brown assault yesterday. His voice crawled out from the back of his throat like an aged sibilant from a deep cave. Words which he had uttered a hundred times before simply fell before they reached the microphone. It was easier on the larynx, and maybe more attractive to undecided voters, to agree that there were too great Democrats with modest disagreements about how to deal with the Republicans.

The two men had spent Sunday together among 500,000 people protesting against proposed restrictions on abortion, one of the biggest marches on Washington to be held. Some of the solidarity may perhaps have survived the night.

Mr Brown showed his usual disdain for figures. Asked about the cost of preventive medical programmes, he spoke of "\$300 million or billion", as though the differ-

ence was merely in the spelling of a word.

The few spectators in the beige-walled hall waited for Mr Clinton to seize upon this, but he attacked instead the rhetoric of "morning in America". He asked if he was sounding simplistic and "crass". Mr Brown did not think Mr Clinton was crass at all. He spoke of his own golden scenario in which old people lived out their lives California-style, "with nutritional and weight-lifting guidance to slow down the process of ageing". Mr Clinton nodded cheerfully.

A week ago the press attacks on the Arkansas governor were fuelled by his reluctance to give New York a show, even to recognise his opponent in debate.

After the Clinton campaign was forced from its high ground, there followed a week of ill-tempered wranglings.

taunts from Mr Brown about the "prince of sleaze" and an Elvis impersonation by Mr Clinton for the press, crooning "Don't be Cruel".

Supporters of both sides now agree that the turning-point came when Mr Brown over-emphasised his links to Jesse Jackson.

In so firmly embracing one of America's most cunning and combustible figures, he alienated both moderate Jewish voters, who judge Mr Jackson anti-Semitic, and those many white Catholics here who accuse David Dinkins, the city's first black mayor, of "handing the city to Jackson's hordes".

Thus yesterday Mr Clinton was able to leave New York as he entered it, attacking the man he hopes to compete with in November, thinking about his choice of running-mate and planning a possible week's holiday. But he was also keeping his fingers firmly crossed.



Clinton: confident of New York victory

## President and army sweep the congress aside in Peru coup

FROM CORINNE SCHMIDT IN LIMA AND OUR FOREIGN STAFF

PRESIDENT Fujimori of Peru launched a coup on Sunday, suspending the constitution and placing prominent opposition politicians under armed guard.

In a televised speech, which was later endorsed by the military and police, the president ordered the armed forces to take the "necessary actions" to install a government of national reconstruction with himself at its head.

Denouncing the "old and rotten order of politicians and judges", the president said that reforms would be drawn up and could be put to a plebiscite.

Tanks were deployed around the congress building, the Palace of Justice and other key sites in central Lima as the joint chiefs of staff announced that the military and police had given "their most decided support" to the president. Troops entered the offices of communications media in an apparent effort to censor information about the coup, and Radio Antenna 1 was closed by the police.

Political party leaders from across Peru's wide ideological spectrum yesterday denounced the coup. Felipe Oesterling, president of the senate, said that he was "indignant about the coup d'etat" and that he had been placed under house arrest. He promised, however, to convene the congress as soon as possible.

Congressman Alberto Quintanilla, second secretary of the chamber of deputies, claimed that a naval officer had detained Cesar Barrera, vice-president of the chamber. Carlos Garcia y Garcia, second vice-president, who has not spoken with the president since Señor Fujimori took office in July 1990 because of political differences, was also reported to have refused to recognise the coup. Señor Garcia, who leads the opposition American Popular Revolutionary Alliance, has promised to lead hardline opposition to the government's economic programme.

Novelist Mario Vargas Llosa, who lost to Señor Fujimori in the presidential election, called the weekend actions "a typical Latin American military coup". He



said the president was trying to cover up recent alleged government corruption.

Sunday's developments coincided with the arrival in Lima of Bernard Aronson, the American assistant secretary of state. Mr Aronson's schedule could not be confirmed, but he normally meets the president when in Peru. In Washington, Brent Scowcroft, the national security adviser, said American officials were watching the situation closely "and our embassy is in contact with (Fujimori's) people".

Peru is mired in recession and beset by the hemisphere's most violent insurgency. Señor Fujimori has tried to push austerity measures through the congress, but encountered stiff opposition from left-wing legislators. His action comes after an attempted military coup in Venezuela in February that sent shivers through a continent that in recent years had begun to shake off dictatorships in favour of democracy.

The president, the son of Japanese immigrants, has been dubbed "The Emperor" by the press for his authoritarian style since he was elected to a five-year term. He has



Fujimori: denounced judges and politicians

been warring with congress in recent months. His Cambio 90 party has 27 seats in the 180-member chamber of deputies and 12 seats in the 60-member senate. Lacking control of congress, he has forged an alliance with the military and has governed largely through decrees. His relations with congress have worsened progressively and legislators have begun rescinding his decrees.

The president's left-wing opponents contend that by reducing government spending on social programmes, Señor Fujimori is aiding the Maoist-inspired rebel Shining Path (Sendero Luminoso) in its recruitment efforts. The Shining Path has in the past year made inroads from its base in the Andes to Lima and other coastal cities. Nearly 25,000 people have died in political violence since the Shining Path took up arms in 1980.

Peru's democratic constitution, approved at the end of a 12-year military dictatorship in 1979, does not allow measures such as those taken by the president. According to the constitution, Señor Fujimori can be accused of treason for dissolving the congress, and any international commitments he makes, including loans, would be non-binding.

President Fujimori's dealings with congress as well as the judiciary have been difficult almost since the start of his government. Lacking a parliamentary majority and the political finesse to build an effective coalition, Señor Fujimori has seen his efforts repeatedly stymied by a congress suspicious of what it considered the president's dictatorial tendencies. In December the congress repealed most of a package of presidential decrees which were aimed at increasing the armed forces' powers in the counter-insurgency.

The Shining Path, which has been compared to Cambodia's Khmer Rouge, has recently tightened its hold on the Peruvian capital with a spectacular wave of bombings and murders. According to Senator Enrique Bernales, the coup is unlikely to affect the Shining Path. "This coup weakens the democratic parties," he said.



Stage presence: actress Jane Fonda addressing a rally attended by about 500,000 people in Washington on Sunday to protest against moves to restrict access to abortion. Bill Clinton and Jerry Brown, rivals for the Democratic presidential nomination, were also present

## West looks for defeat of hardliners as democratic fervour grips Iran

BY CHRISTOPHER WALKER IN TEHRAN

IN CONTRAST to the secular British election campaign, rival groups of Muslim clerics are competing here for votes on Friday in a parliamentary poll replete with accusations of dirty tricks, calls for a boycott and occasional violence, only restrained by a beefed-up security presence.

In an atmosphere of tension, heightened by Sunday's bombing of mujahedin bases inside Iraq and retaliation against a string of Iranian embassies in Western capitals, an electorate of 20 million men and women over the age of 15 will decide whether the nation swings back to hardline fundamentalism or opens itself to the West.

In the midst of this bizarre brand of democratic fervour, raised by Western diplomats as more akin to the real thing than anything else to be found in the Middle East, outside Israel. President Rafsanjani is putting his pragmatic policies to their first real popular test since the death in 1989 of Ayatollah

Khomeini, the Iranian spiritual leader.

The anti-West hardliners, who have maintained the 270-seat Majlis (parliament) as their last effective power base, are furious with what they see as the "Americanised Islam" of the government. They also allege that many of their potential parliamentarians have been deemed the right to contest by the pragmatists in power.

The Combatant Clergy-men's Society, the main radical group, is dismayed at the release of Western hostages, and the introduction of a form of glasnost and free market economics. It has accused the pragmatists of rigging the elections, the results of which are keenly awaited by Western governments.

Among those left out of the final list of 2,000 candidates — chosen out of 3,150 aspirants — are Ayatollah Sadeq Khalkhali, dubbed Iran's "hanging judge", and three militant students who seized the American embassy here

in 1979. All are members of the outgoing Majlis. The society said it would campaign "to prevent the dominance of leech-like capitalists and to fight world arrogance headed by the US".

While pollsters in the West evaluate voting trends on the doormats, political pundits in Tehran observe the amount of hair protruding from under the hijab or veil worn by women. "If there is plenty of hair showing, as there is now, you know that for the moment at least the radicals are in a down swing," a diplomat explained.

Since the death of Khomeini, the wily President Rafsanjani — known by his nickname "the shark" — has purged radicals from key positions. He has rejected their demands for a return to a centralised economy and a militant foreign policy which would forestall overtures to the West for sorely needed finance and technology.

Despite the ideological spectre in the campaign speech-

es, ordinary Iranians are mainly concerned with the effect of the poll on their pockets. "Revolutionary zeal has greatly evaporated. Soaring prices and low incomes are the main issues," a Western observer said.

Meanwhile, Iran's Mujahedin Khalq opposition, which claims to have brought down an Iranian jet in Sunday's raid on its bases in Iraq, said the attack was an act of desperation by Tehran to win favour in advance of Friday's poll. "They made such an attack to overshadow the huge crisis they are facing at home," a member of the exiled group's executive, said.

Yesterday's Tehran Times carried an appeal by Iran's current spiritual leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, for a mass turnout at the polls.

● Protest notes: Iran protested to European ambassadors yesterday that their countries had failed to protect its missions from attacks by mujahedin exiles after its air raid on a rebel base in Iraq.

## China asks Japan to aid reforms

Tokyo: Jiang Zemin, the Chinese Communist party secretary-general, arrived in Tokyo yesterday for a five-day visit, the first by a prominent party leader since the Tiananmen Square killings of 1989. He is expected to ask Kichii Miyazawa, the prime minister, for more Japanese capital to push through economic reform (Joanna Pitman writes).

Mr Jiang is expected to meet Emperor Akihito today and issue a formal invitation for him to visit China this autumn, to mark the 20th anniversary of the normalisation of Sino-Japanese relations. But the emperor will have been advised to decline politely, to avoid apologies for Japan's atrocities in China during the 1930s and 40s.

## Curfew starts

Kathmandu: The Nepal government announced a dusk-to-dawn curfew in Kathmandu and Patan, after a general strike was called by the Communist party and opposition groups. Demonstrations and public gatherings were banned. (AFP)

## Dissident held

Lilongwe: Chakufwa Chihana, a prominent Malawian dissident and labour leader, was arrested minutes after he returned to Malawi from Johannesburg with a text calling for the ouster of President Banda and a return to democracy. (AP)

## Virus spreads

Jerusalem: The number of new carriers of the HIV virus, which leads to Aids, tripled to 306 in Israel last year, according to a medical publication. Professor Zeev Handzel, an immunologist, attributed the increase partly to rise in immigration. (AFP)

## Set in stone

Tokyo: The autograph of President Kim Il Sung of North Korea has been engraved in characters 34ft by 40ft on one of the country's most sacred mountains. The idea is one of many to mark the president's 80th birthday on April 15. (Reuters)

## Relaxed expatriates count on Gadaffi's common sense

THERE were few signs of the political storm clouds at Regatta Beach in Tripoli yesterday. Just days after organised mobs set fire to the Venezuelan embassy and Colonel Muammar Gaddafi called for a virtual jihad against the West, expatriates trapped in Libya's latest confrontation, snorled, sunbathed and traded thoughts about what to do.

Angela, an Italian, poured a cup of iced espresso under her umbrella. "A few people have left but my husband and I will stay. I don't think there's much danger." Her husband is one of thousands of Westerners employed in Libya's oil industry. Jobs are scarce at home: none pays as well. Nervousness, however, edged the idyllic scene. "If air links are cut and it gets difficult to leave, maybe we'll think again," she said.

Unless Colonel Gaddafi hands over two Libyans sus-

pected in the Lockerbie bombing by next Wednesday, that is exactly what will happen. Foreigners have not forgotten the American air raids, involving F111 bombers from Britain, on Tripoli and Benghazi in 1986.

On the other hand, Libya's expatriates have always been a rather phlegmatic group. They know that Colonel Gaddafi often talks revolution but acts more pragmatically. They also know that the oil industry — which earns 95 per cent of his income — would collapse without them.

The morning after the Venezuelan embassy burned and mobs shouting "foreigners out", surrounded the missions of countries who voted for United Nations sanctions, Allen Brown, the British representative, found only 13 messages on his answering machine — 11 from the press. A few of the

The mood in Tripoli is uncertain as a divided government gives out mixed signals on the eve of a United Nations mission, Marie Colvin writes

5,000 Britons in Libya sent home their wives and children but most took a wait-and-see attitude.

There was nothing on Tripoli's streets yesterday to make them think again. The only uniforms to be seen were on guards outside the embassies threatened last Thursday. Nothing happens here without authorisation.

But the burnt-out shell of the Venezuelan embassy yesterday gave warning of the potential for violence. There can be no doubt that last week's protests were organised at higher levels, despite government claims that the demonstrators gathered spontaneously, angry at the

UN vote. It seemed unlikely that any Libyan could find the Venezuelan embassy spontaneously, let alone set it alight. It took me two hours, two taxis and directions from any passerby to arrive at the compound. Embassy officials, picking through the rubble yesterday, said fire engines arrived 20 minutes before the mob. Miguel Raidi, the ambassador, emerged the hero of the hour. He shocked youths who burst through his door by standing his ground and ordering them out. They retreated leaving his office the mission's only salvageable room.

According to members of



Air raid: America sent F111s to bomb Tripoli in 1986

Colonel Gaddafi's family, the violence so enraged the Libyan leader that he imprisoned several security officials. From what could be pieced together, people mobilised on orders and junior officials, most likely members of Revolutionary Committees, the young shock troops of the revolution, egged them on until out of control.

Although Colonel Gaddafi can be unpredictable, he knows that the burning of an embassy in his capital undercuts his attempts to portray Libya as a regime committed to international law and

seeking a reasonable compromise. But there appeared to be divisions in the regime, although not serious enough to threaten his leadership. The mood has been uncertain for weeks now, with conflicting signals, such as the attacks on embassies and immediate apology.

Last week Libya's UN ambassador, an articulate professional bureaucrat, announced that the two suspects would be handed over to the Arab League. The Paris ambassador, a revolutionary, denounced his statement immediately.



## Whose secret life is it anyway?

Janet Daley asks whether great men are entitled to posthumous privacy

To whom do your life and its secrets belong? First to yourself and next to your nearest and dearest? The platitudes slip off the tongue easily enough when we talk about the private lives of ordinary people. But what if the life is not a purely "private" one? And whose life is definitively private, anyway? Not a politician's obviously; but what about a great writer's? And whatever rules we accept, do they still apply when that life is over? Once we are part of history, does the devious of our feelings belong to the world?

In Dublin, an archive of James Joyce's private papers has been released for public examination. What should have been a momentous unlocking of insights into the development of one of the most influential figures in modern literature has provoked protest and disappointment. Missing from the fifty-year-old collection is all the material relating to Joyce's schizophrenic daughter, whose illness was a critical tragedy in his life. Of even more direct relevance to Joyce's artistic production were his wife Nora's erotic letters.

These absences present very different moral quandaries. Documents about Joyce's daughter have apparently been deliberately withheld by his descendants, who still have control over his estate. But Nora's letters are thought to have been destroyed by her. A family (in the person of a grandson whose authority has become unchallengeable in an Ireland which venerates Joyce) wishes to conceal a painful episode of mental illness: a wife trying to understand, not just what it was like to be trapped in the mud of Flanders during the first world war, but what possessed James Joyce to create the character of Molly Bloom.

To falsify history by suppressing information is one thing. Certainly there are circumstances where it is understandable — when the unpalatable truth about a parent would become known to young children, for example. Alternatively, in the case of an untimely death, by suicide particularly, there can be prolonged controversy about what the truth is: the acrimony between Sylvia Plath's feminist biographers and her widower, Ted Hughes, is unlikely to be resolved within our lifetimes.

To go even further, to the lengths of destroying material so that it is lost forever, is difficult to forgive. But what if this is the documented wish of the deceased himself? Philip Larkin left instructions to the woman with whom he lived that notebooks and diaries of his were to be destroyed on his death, and she loyally followed his instruction. Was she morally bound to do so, or did she owe a greater duty to the understanding of English poetry than to him?

Even more awkward, did he have a right to order such a thing, given that by the time of his death, he was fully aware of his own importance to 20th-century British poetry? Writers are private people by temperament: it is arguable that they would not be who and what they are if we did not permit them that secretiveness. But their compulsion to create is matched by our compulsion to understand their creativity. In the end (and especially after the end), they belong no longer to themselves but to us.

ing into the arcane territory of literary criticism, we have to make some hard decisions about what kind of knowledge of the past is important enough to justify gross intrusion. The artist and typographer Eric Gill was described in a recent biography as having committed incest. The accounts of his sex life deeply affected other members of his family, and have given rise to great bitterness. It would be hard to justify such revelations as essential to our understanding of him as an artist, but if true, they provide a fascinating picture of a defiantly unconventional life. And what of Virginia Woolf's homosexuality? And the lesbian affair of Vita Sackville-West? Their sexuality was certainly not irrelevant to their work, and their lives are an intriguing facet of English social history.

Documents once thought to be most important often turn out in the end to be the least significant: redundant treaties, make-weight bureaucratic correspondence, publishers' bland testimonials. In the study of tumultuous historical events, it is often the most intimate and idiosyncratic documents that offer real insight: the letters men write to their wives and girlfriends from the front lines in war; the diaries of 17th-century diplomats, with all their indiscretions intact; the laundry-lists and menus of Victorian housekeepers, which give such a wealth of domestic detail. The unofficial, confidential document is the one that gives a vivid picture of life as it was actually lived. Individuals speaking to one another off-the-record are the lifeblood of history: its telling anecdotes and eye-witness accounts. Which is why private letters are of such matchless importance when one is trying to understand, not just what it was like to be trapped in the mud of Flanders during the first world war, but what possessed James Joyce to create the character of Molly Bloom.

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James Joyce as drawn by Wyndham Lewis

## Is John Major or Neil Kinnock better fitted for the highest office?

# A question of character and leadership

Simon Jenkins on the rivals for Downing Street



Kinnock and Major: each has allowed jargon to become a substitute for a vision of the Britain he wishes to lead

So how have they done? Commentators love to say that what with television, or opinion polls, or spin doctors, or Europe, elections are merely crude gladiatorial combat. This is nonsense. Major and Kinnock are in direct line of descent from Pitt and Fox, Gladstone and Disraeli, Churchill and Attlee. Leaders ran and their parties followed. Parties and leaders have been symbiotic since the 18th century. British election contenders emerge not from the rough and tumble of primary elections but from the clubrooms of Westminster factions. Not here the "laughing lions" for which Nietzsche yearned in his famous job description for a leader, "merry ones such as are built squarely in body and soul".

The most successful democratic campaigner of the 1980s was Ronald Reagan. You would never catch him lecturing his audience about public sectors or G7s or shorter waiting-lists. Ask him about the state of the economy and he would take the electorate by the arm, smile and explain in a hundred little anecdotes why all would be well with him. British politicians disdain Reagan's personalised technique, but they do so much as medieval generals disdained gunpowder as being unmanly.

Go to a morning press conference and it is all message, no messenger. It may seem monstrously unfair to cerebral politicians that Britain's master governor should have to be chosen from an idiot chorus-line. But elections are about winning, not about how you played the game. Only the party election broadcasts have begun to show some confidence in the magic of leadership, and then only the Liberal and Labour ones.

Yet once won, elections are indeed about governing, and it is governors that we are choosing this week. Mr Ashdown may turn out to be a kingmaker or an assassin, but if so it will be only for a day. The choice may be from a chorus-line, but it is a choice of prime ministers. And the criteria should be how they would perform in office.

Despairing at the similarities between Mr Kinnock and Mr Major, cynics have been reminded of Alice's Tweedledum and Tweedledee: "Let's fight to six and then have dinner." Seldom has a British election seen such a rivalry of nicenesses. The contenders are virtually the same age, just touching 50. Both seem free of malice and find it impossible to engage in personal feuds.

Each seems genuinely to respect the other's rise up the classless ladder of modern politics. Neither needed the help of Oxbridge or family or wealth. There was no apprenticeship in the patronage of a great union or the entourage of a Tory grandee. Grammar school and personal ambition looked after them both. They may have been the poor bloody infantry of politics: student organisations for Kinnock, local government for Major. Yet these proved so

upwardly mobile that each had reached the top by his mid-forties. What other democratic elite can claim such openness?

Both Mr Major and Mr Kinnock are textbook cases of how to get on in their respective clubs. Each advanced by fierce loyalty to the leader of the day — Mrs Thatcher and Mr Foot respectively — and by adopting a stance vaguely identified as close to his party's ideological roots. Each has found cutting some of those roots more than mildly embarrassing. But as even Mrs Thatcher would have taught, principled compromise is the steel in the soul of government.

Comparison is further confused by the political personality of each having been so dictated by circumstance. Mr Kinnock has been Opposition leader for almost a decade. In that time he has been tested and has grown. He has shown undoubted courage in his struggles with the demons of militant trade unionism, a struggle he knows will never end. It is no bad thing in a leader to be seen going "over the top" against an enemy. Whether he can repeat such bravery in office is less certain. Lord Callaghan was no less brave, and the unions defeated him. Mr Kinnock has been less courageous in that other test of leadership, his willingness to root out the liabilities and dead wood among his colleagues.

Mr Kinnock's various tergi-

versations have been much discussed. His apologies for his past have been engaging, as if political gyration merely indicated sensitivity to the Zeitgeist. He appears to have shed unilateral disarmament, anti-Europeanism, nationalisation, as though they were flared jeans and a weakness for Bob Dylan. Mr Kinnock points out that at least he has shifted in the right direction.

A foolish consistency may be the hobgoblin of little minds, but some political ballast is important in the storms that engulf every government. A search for substance in the verbosity of a Kinnock speech, reveals little more than the foggy egalitarianism that has moved him since he entered the Commons in 1970.

Nowhere is Mr Kinnock more the prisoner of his circumstance than in the question of competence in government. His skill as an orator and party machine has been devoted to attacking his own left wing and the Conservative government. He has made some of the best speeches of recent years: only Iain Macleod came near him in my experience. He performs well in the badinage of modern television, and his recent self-discipline has been a revelation. But there is a world of difference between taking a second supplementary from Sir Robin Day and charting a path between querulous ministers

and Cabinet Office briefings. I sense that Mr Kinnock would be locked in the same civil service prison as John Major. But he would be even more conservative and ultimately even more in thrall to his public sector masters.

John Major's circumstances have been kinder, but no less of a handicap now that his back is to the wall. He has never known political opposition. His rise has been through the inner sanctums of government: the whips office, the Treasury and Downing Street. He never had to learn the language of the politically dispossessed.

A Reagan or a Thatcher would by now have seized the campaign by the scruff of its neck, chucked out the whining tacticians and told the world some home truths. Major has made an effort to do this over the past few days, but as his face tightens with tiredness, he incants Treasury facts and figures. He clings to the jargon of Whitehall, the only jargon he knows, as Kinnock clings to that of socialism. For each, the jargon has become a substitute for vision. Mr Major's red boxes seem to rise up before him each night as ghosts of times past. They seem so full of manifest wisdom, yet the wisdom is written in mandarin, and there is no Central Office translation into common sense.

Mr Major's team worried before the campaign that he might not perform well on the stump. Such worry instantly communicates itself to the party, the country and, I assume, to the leader himself. The mixture of negative and positive campaigning has diminished John Major as leader and has failed to exploit his greatest electoral asset, his incumbency as prime minister.

As opposition has shown off Mr Kinnock's strengths, so government ought to have highlighted those of Mr Major. Yet as head of the government, Mr Major has been all but invisible during the campaign.

John Major's strengths have grown in parallel to Mr Kinnock's since 1990. A politician based at the Foreign Office and subservient at the Treasury suddenly emerged as a tough campaigner for the office of prime minister. He went on to prove a good war leader, an impressive C7 chairman and a determined rectifier of the poll-tax mistake. His personal insecurities seem to have evaporated during his time in the job. Battles with the Treasury over interest rates saw a return of his intellectual deference, but by the second half of 1991, he had clearly begun to master his briefs.

The real test came with the EC negotiations at Maastricht. Here was an advanced, doctrinaire in political leadership, a man confronted with phenomenally difficult decisions of lasting importance to Britain and Europe. Bludgeoned by the opportunism of other EC leaders, Mr Major stuck to his guns. He showed he could negotiate in detail, marshal a team and keep his eye on his home base. He won what needed winning, and reserved positions that needed reserving. All this he achieved despite the scepticism of Mrs Thatcher and to the final admiration of other European leaders.

Mr Kinnock's scorning of Mr Major's every move in Maastricht betrayed a cynicism towards foreign affairs and sorely qualified his claim to Downing Street. It even more sorely qualified that of his foreign affairs spokesman, Gerald Kaufman. Neither seemed to understand the conflicts over economic and political union already emerging in Germany and France, to which Mr Kinnock turns a deaf ear even in election interviews. Maastricht was John Major's coming of age as a prime minister.

If the rough and tumble of an election campaign exposes Mr Major's weaknesses, Maastricht brought out his qualities. And Maastricht is the stuff of the job being filled on Thursday. Mr Major will never be a populist leader. He will never make a speech as Neil Kinnock can. His whole physique seems to recoil from such extrovert exposure. In public he takes on the gunmetal colouring of Bagehot's ministerialism. But while democrats may find it tedious, governing well is a dull business. Mr Major is good at it and getting better.



...and moreover  
**CRAIG BROWN**

Will the world be topsy-turvy on Friday morning? I have had an intuition that there will be the dawning of a new age, and nothing will ever be the same again. As I was going to sleep last night, I found myself transported to a party at which all the great and the good were present. But somehow I realised that no one was quite as expected.

My first inkling that things were higgledy-piggledy came when I heard someone say "...and she always looks absolutely immaculate". It was Edward Heath. I manoeuvred past him to the drinks table. "But mostly tonic please", Senator Edward Kennedy was saying to the barman.

What was happening? Over in the corner, I couldn't help but overhear a political discussion taking place between five very eminent figures. "At least they've got rid of that bloody woman," said Paul Johnson. "In a word..." began Neil Kinnock. "No comment," said Sir Nicholas Fairbairn. "You've only yourself to blame," Lord Longford was saying. In another corner of the room, Tony Benn was holding forth. "That's all very well in a perfect world," he said, "but what about the balance of payments deficit?"

Healey seemed to be apologising. "I do not hope," he said, "speaking out of turn," he said. At this point Edwina Currie and Princess Michael of Kent came to the door. "After you," they chorused. They soon struck up a conversation with Lord Weidenfeld. "Whatever you do, don't try to write a book," he advised them. Of course, he was right. This was a literary crowd, and this one was no exception. "But let's talk about you," I overheard Nicholson Baker saying to someone, while Gore Vidal was shaking his head and saying simply, "I really wouldn't know." Meanwhile, Kingsley Amis was catching up on old times with Andrea Dworkin. Frederic Raphael was introducing himself ("You won't know me, but...") and Simon Raven and John Osborne were reminiscing about old friends. "Marvellous chap," said Raven, a tear in his eye. "Lovely lady," said Osborne, wistfully.

Alas, something told me that a literary feud might be in the offing, as I couldn't help but overhear Sir Roy Strong challenging Sir Harold Acton to an arm-wrestle. Minutes later, another literary tussle broke out. "Come outside and say that!" said Lord Jenkins of Hillhead to Margaret Drabble. Elsewhere in the room, Harold Pinter was entertaining the 17th June Group with a selection from his rich stock of knock-knock jokes.

Fashion is always a great talking point. "Marvellously hard-wearing," I heard Mrs

Marcos saying. "And so unobtrusive," said Bubbles Rothermere. "This summer, bright, bold, sassy colours are back, and how!" chipped in Enoch Powell.

"No thank you — I'm not thirsty," Oliver Reed said to a passing waiter. Around him, a small group of film directors were organising their casts. "Say cheese," enthused Martin Scorsese. "Some one," announced Michael Winner. "He throws his guns away forever," "Beautifully suggestive," whispered Ken Russell. "Cut," cried Michael Cimino.

"And I really couldn't forgive him for that awful little mousetache," Lady Mosley was saying as I passed by her. I made my way over to a small group of television personalities huddled together on a sofa. "It's none of my business..." said Esther Rantzen. "It's all perfectly straightforward..." said Jonathan Miller. "So I thought to myself 'Why not?' and trod on it," reminisced Sir David Attenborough.

Meanwhile, a figure in the corner was complaining about the loud music with her hands to her ears. "I can't hear myself think!" It was Janet Street-Porter. Others disagreed. "Very catchy," enthused Philip Glass, snapping his fingers in time. Taking the record off, Ian Paisley began singing a carol. "All is calm, all is bright," he crooned. At this, the unmistakable figure of Doris Stokes popped her head round the door. "Coocoo!" she said. "I'm back!"

## Royalty on the stump

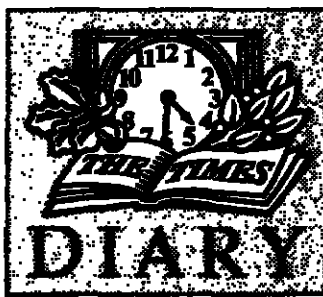
WHILE Bosnia is burning, the leading members of the Yugoslavian royal family are taking to the election hustings this week in the unlikely setting of Barking, East London.

John Kennedy, a distant relation of the Yugoslavian royals through his grandmother, is fighting the Labour marginal constituency for the Tories and has had no hesitation in signing up the family.

Fresh from dodging the flak in Sarajevo over the weekend, Prince Tomislav, the fifth in line to the Yugoslavian throne, flies into London tomorrow morning to give the electors of Barking the benefit of his advice. Tomislav, 62, a distant heir to the British throne, will be joined on the campaign trail by his wife, Princess Lynda and his two sons Prince Michael and Prince George.

They should by now be battle-weary campaigners. For the past six months they have been lobbying in Yugoslavia for a return of the monarchy for the first time since the exile of King Peter in 1942. Last summer, Kennedy, Princess Lynda and the young princes were smuggled into Borovo Selo, just inside the Croatian border, the scene of some of the bloodiest fighting. They were paddled in on a raft in darkness, with the noise of gunfire around them, under the noses of Croat snipers.

After that even a British election seems tame in comparison as they try to help Kennedy overturn a 3,400 Labour majority. Another member of the family, 27-year-old Prince Vladimir, who is 10th in line to the Yugoslavian throne, has been in Barking since the start of the campaign, with Princess Lav-



inia, his sister. Vladimir, a great-great-grandson of Queen Victoria is also 62nd in line to the British throne.

Nor are the Yugoslavs the only royal family that Kennedy has signed up. Prince Idris al-Senssi, the 36-year-old heir to the Libyan throne, has also been campaigning for him among Barking's 5,000-strong Muslim community. Senssi's great uncle, King Idris, was deposed by Colonel Gaddafi in 1969.

Kennedy has resisted the temptation to run his campaign on the slogan "Don't let Labour make Barking the next Bosnia", a phrase unlikely to have much resonance with the Dagenham Ford workers who make up much of the constituency.

● *Lord Jenkins' debut at the Liberal Democrats' 7.15 morning press conference, was not without pain. Appalled by the early hour, Jenkins appealed to party organisers for a more civilised slot. Not for himself, of course. "If we hold it later we might attract a better class of journalist," he told them.*

## Spymaker-in-chief

IF NEIL KINNOCK is to be the new prime minister, one of the first decisions he will have to make is who will be the new head of the

Secret Intelligence Service — or MI6 as it is better known. The present chief, Sir Colin McColl, C as he is termed in James Bond style service parlance — is due to retire by his 60th birthday in September this year. There has long been speculation that an appointment would be made before the election, a possibility which was finally quashed yesterday by Whitehall sources.

There had also been suggestions that following the much-publicised appointment of Stella Rimington to the sister organisation, MI5, another woman was about to be appointed to head MI6. Those suggestions were then denied, and those working within the organisation expected that McColl's successor would be a man. But this week's delay in making the announcement throws the door wide open again, for Whitehall is understood to have decided that it would be impolitic to make the appointment only days before the possible advent of a new government.

## Insert 'not' as needed

LORD RODGERS, the director-general of the Royal Institute of British Architects, is a man of liberal persuasion in every sense. He has granted sabbatical leave to his head of marketing, Peter Davies, to work for the Tories, monitoring Rodgers' own political pronouncements during the campaign.

"Lord Rodgers has cropped up occasionally on our screens," says Davies, who has been drafted in to head the Tories' media monitoring unit. "He has been campaigning in Bath against Chris Patten, my boss in Central Office. But Bill and I have met up during the campaign and swapped experiences. Our friendly relationship will pick up again after Thursday, I hope."

Rodgers is equally calm. "We have a good working relationship, but I confess it is a rather amusing vignette." Last week Davies' loyalties were stretched to the limit when he was required to brief ministers on a gloomy RIB report about new building starts. The report was Davies' own work. Something Patten apparently did not know when he asked for an upbeat assessment of its findings. Davies dutifully provided a detailed rebuttal of his own report.

● *The Kent radio station Invicta has been forced to drop all mention of Labour's favourite bloom from its "Red Rose Phone-in", after complaints about political bias. The new title, at least until Thursday: "The Prickly Flower Phone-in".*

## Bums on seats

THE ANC will decide this morning whether to mount a protest at Sikulu, the African musical extravaganza, which opens in the West End tonight. "We are worried that this show will break the cultural boycott and will present a totally unreal picture of South Africa," says Oliver Tambo's son, Dali.

The problem seems to lie less in the new production itself and more in its genesis. The producers of Sikulu were also responsible for Ipi Tombi, the 1970s musical which the ANC picketed and have still not forgiven. After the protest, cast members walked out, complaining about being treated like "slaves".

Yet the production will surely survive. After all it has faced worse problems. "We were nearly hit by disaster in Italy," says a spokeswoman. "At the last minute we discovered that *si calu* has a different meaning in Italian. Apparently it means 'yes, asshole'."

Jason Donovan winning a £100,000 prize for his role in the film *The Firm* has caused controversy. The film is a remake of the 1960 film *The Firm*, which was based on the novel by John Grisham. The film is a remake of the 1960 film *The Firm*, which was based on the novel by John Grisham. The film is a remake of the 1960 film *The Firm*, which was based on the novel by John Grisham.



highest office?

Mr Major's team wanted to perform well on the campaign trail. But the Tories' strategy was to let the opposition do the heavy lifting. The Tories' strategy was to let the opposition do the heavy lifting. The Tories' strategy was to let the opposition do the heavy lifting.

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# GRASPING THISTLES

The prime minister yesterday declared it an issue "more important even than the outcome of the election itself". He meant the future of the United Kingdom. He was referring to a policy espoused by all opposition parties and which might therefore be enacted by the next Parliament. Yet even if the Tories win, the next government of the United Kingdom will have to grasp the thistle of Scotland and how it is governed.

The debate on the union arises from what are now irresistible forces for regionalism in the British Isles and across Europe. But if the Tories have been foolish in ignoring this, the other parties have been just as foolish in implying that constitutional reform is a crock of political gold. There is nothing but hard horse-trading ahead, and the Scots must expect to come out of it with less than they want: including an end to their over-representation by at least 13 of their 72 MPs at Westminster.

Mr Major's current mistake is to set a general but undefined obligation (upholding the United Kingdom constitution) against a specific and localised one (the Scots' demand for self-government). Having established this dichotomy, he is forced to equate devolution with the separatism adopted by the more extreme nationalists. Yesterday he even implied that the Scots are not mature enough in their debate to exercise any self-determination over the midwest of devolutionary packages. Yet even the Tories have in a drawer somewhere an unofficial outline of a "Scottish senate" which could have started a conversation and got Mr Major off the hook.

A Labour government, either with an overall majority or with Lib Dem support, would adopt the devolution programme of the Scottish Constitutional Convention. This proposed that a Scottish parliament should have the power to set VAT and income tax, within limits, at different levels from the rest of the United Kingdom. It would exercise control over local government, health, housing, educational, transport, industrial, environmental and other policies.

John Major has insisted that such devolution threatens the union. What he ignores is that a Scottish assembly with most of the powers the constitutional convention demands would satisfy all reasonable Scots and marginalise the independence lobby. Mr Major is right, however, in his implicit plea to the Scots to have regard to the overall health of the union. Tinkering with its parts affects the whole. In particular, it affects the powers of the Westminster Parliament and of the United Kingdom government.

There is a long history of regional assemblies in Britain, some respectable, some less so. The Greater London Council and other metropolitan authorities had local taxation powers. Stormont had wider devolved powers, though Northern Ireland still sent MPs to Westminster to vote on United Kingdom (and if they wished, English) matters.

But devolution would have to lead to shifts in the balance of the United Kingdom Parliament. The Stormont parliament enjoyed its powers in return for diminished representation at Westminster. Such adjustments are needed to offer constitutional fairness to the English, who could find Scots, Welsh and Northern Irish MPs governing England where English MPs no longer had jurisdiction in Scotland, Wales or Northern Ireland. Unless the English had their own national or regional assemblies to deal with domestic English affairs, Westminster would need to be weighted in England's favour.

The Tories could reasonably demand a severe reduction in Scottish MPs, even enough to make the Westminster Parliament safe for the Tories for another generation. Labour would be more inclined to protect its party interest. If devolution is to be seen as fair by all parts of the union, these matters need to be considered by nothing less than a Royal Commission. The Scots may find the outcome uncomfortable. Mr Major is right to warn that tinkering with the union is a dangerous game, but wrong to say that it should therefore not be played.

# COLLAPSE OF CONSENSUS

Voters in the three most important countries on the Continent have sent an ominous message to their governments. In France, Germany and Italy they have voted in significant numbers in regional, state and general elections for the far right: for candidates whose anti-immigration campaigns verge on racism, who scorn the political establishment and use the mob and the media to force their views onto the television screen and the agenda.

The right is cashing in on a deeper exasperation with a generation of consensus and complacent politicians, too long in both government and opposition, who have shirked the hard questions such as immigration and recession or failed to spell out the implications of economic exigencies such as cost-cutting or higher taxes.

In each country popular anger has a different focus: an ageing president in France, costly unification in Germany, and a corrupt Roman coterie unable to govern well. The common strand is despair at parliaments that offer no real choice. Italians have seen more than 40 governments since the war, but every twist of the kaleidoscope yields a similar pattern. Germany's vaunted stability has led to the tyranny of the centre. Genscher with everything.

The rise of the right in Germany and Italy has thrown their centre-right governments into near panic. The Italian Christian Democrats and their allies may be unable to command a majority for the first time since the end of the second world war. Enzo Carra, their spokesman, called the result an "earthquake for the entire government". Chancellor Kohl is also paying the price for his government's miscalculation over the costs of German and European unity, and his attempts to hide the cost from voters.

In both countries Christian Democrats have largely themselves to blame, though coalition politics has played a part in

delivering fudge instead of leadership. Giulio Andreotti, the outgoing Italian prime minister, has used his Machiavellian skills to subvert his rivals and patch up wobbly majorities instead of forcing his squabbling colleagues to cut overpending, confront corruption and speed up legislation. Herr Kohl had a chance to appeal to his countrymen's patriotism and self-sacrifice in making a reality of German unity; instead he baulked at puncturing complacency while recklessly promising that Germany would pay for everything.

Voter disillusion has been exacerbated by a divided and dithering opposition. Germany's Social Democrats have ignored the impact of immigration which has brought over 3.5 million immigrants and asylum-seekers to Germany in the past decade, and is still bringing in east Germans at the rate of 1,000 a week. The left in Italy has counted solely on the collapse of communism to boost its vote without proposing new policies on immigration, the north-south divide and the bloated bureaucracy.

Continental consensus delivered prosperity in good times. But the refusal to rock the boat only increased the appeal of extremists outside the parliamentary framework. In Britain coalitions are built within parties, not between them. Unlike the Continent, the two big parties have stretched their boundaries to embrace — and ultimately neutralise — the more unsavoury forces on the far left and right. Britain has thus been spared the extremes of extra-parliamentary opposition.

Germany, Italy and France are now discovering, as they feign surprise at the backlash against Maastricht, that voters do not like deals and policies made in hush-hush. Their politicians must move out of their cosy corridors and coalitions. Alarmed by xenophobic agitation and anger at recession, they must answer the protest vote before the protests overwhelm them.

# FACE-SAVING FORMULA

Jason Donovan saved his face last week by winning a £200,000 libel award from *The Face* which suggested that he was hypocritical about his sexuality. Now he is trying to save *The Face*. His lawyers were meeting representatives of the paper yesterday to seek to rescue it from the collapse which the damages, and the accompanying £200,000 costs bill, threaten.

This is not the only strange twist to a strange case. *The Face*'s behaviour was perverse, even in a paper which prides itself on defying convention. To err over Mr Donovan's sexual proclivities was lax. To carry a doctored photograph of him wearing a T-shirt with a homosexual slogan bordered on the bizarre. To refuse the full and abject apology which Mr Donovan reasonably demanded was reckless. Mr Donovan should never have been forced to go to court for redress.

But the oddest thing of all was the jury's assessment of damages. Mr Donovan agreed that there is nothing libellous about saying that someone is homosexual. Moreover, Mr Donovan's business is show business, in which all publicity is good publicity. The damage done, save to his feelings, was hardly great; and the judge warned the jury not to add noughts to his award. Yet it did just that.

The libel fruit machine now pours out a jackpot with almost every pull of the handle. Hardly any politician is so thick-skinned as to be denied a payout: Edwina Currie and Teresa Gorman have enjoyed the munificence of the law. No showbiz personality is expected to take rough criticism or false allegation with the smooth of the joys of celeb-

ity: Bill Roache and Esther Rantzen have followed where Jeffrey Archer trod. The manager of a bitter boxer, lordly victim of an obnoxious émigré, rapist's wife and politician's ex-mistress: all scoop the libel pool.

Probably 95 per cent of libel cases never get near a court, being settled early on by apology. That percentage should be higher still. The Press Complaints Commission provides a free alternative form of redress for the wronged but without any award of damages. The Neill committee on defamation has produced its own proposals for a cheaper, juster law. They would mean that a judge, not a jury, decided damages in simple cases where the defendants make an "offer of amends". Even ahead of the official consultations on Neill, conducted by the Lord Chancellor's department, the Tory election manifesto has accepted this proposal.

Lord Justice Neill's report is as if anything too cautious. There is a strong case for removing the fixing of damages from juries altogether, as the Faulks committee recommended in 1975. Qualified privilege should also be given to publishers who can show that they published statements in good faith, in the public interest, and after making reasonable enquiries, as is the case in Australia. This would not have saved *The Face*, which satisfied none of these tests. But the aim of reform is not to protect the irresponsible. It is to balance free speech with protection against defamation, offence with penalty. *The Face* deserves to suffer for its sins, but Mr Donovan is right to seek to temper with mercy the severity of the jury's penal award. But how absurd that a plaintiff should have to do this where a court so manifestly failed.

# Election and education: quality of teaching, standards in schools and colleges

From Mr D. Bruce Cherry

Sir, Not all lecturing staff would agree with the sentiments expressed by over 200 academics (report, April 3) in which a decline in UK higher education standards was explained by chronic government under-funding of the sector.

The problem is not one of under-funding per se; how can it be when figures exist to show that a higher percentage of GNP is spent on higher education in the UK than in many other EC countries? We merely give it to students in the form of fees and grants as opposed to the institutions as subsidies.

The real problem lies in how the funds are managed within the individual institutions. Teachers have not necessarily made good managers. Chronic mismanagement of resources has been endemic for years — as any honest individual within the system would admit. This mismanagement has been disguised by the fact that the public purse was always there to bail out imprudent spending. The teachers (sic) have simply come home to roost.

The argument that under-funding necessarily leads to a decline in teaching standards is equally spurious. An education philosophy that puts the onus on students to teach themselves rather than be taught, coupled with a system whereby the same people design the syllabus, teach it, set exams on it and mark it themselves, have inevitably led to large-scale abuse. Evaluations of quality have long been resisted by those who know what the answers might be — especially quality assessments made by the student/client.

Yours faithfully,  
D. B. CHERRY  
(Principal lecturer of marketing, Polytechnic of West London),  
15a Westfield Road, Ealing, W13.  
April 3.

From the Director of the Institute of Education and others

Sir, It ought not to be a matter of controversy between the political parties that any new government, even in difficult economic circumstances, should use its best endeavours to prevent matters that have gone badly from getting worse.

Teachers' pay is one instance of that and of the widening differentials between public and private-sector pay. Since 1981, even including the recent settlement, teachers' pay has fallen by some 7.5 per cent in relation to non-manual workers in the private sector.

Improved standards in education

depend on competent, well-motivated teachers. These days, many such teachers are being recruited into the profession but far too many then leave within a year or two.

Why? It is not that such teachers are disappointed by the lack of large financial reward. They never expected that. It is, at least in part, that they perceive themselves to have been treated unfairly; and a sense of injustice is the greatest of all demotivators.

Any government hoping to get the best out of those who work in the public sector should be prepared to recognise that.

Yours,  
PETER NEWSAM,  
CLAUS MOSER,  
JOHN HARVEY-JONES,  
Institute of Education,  
20 Bedford Way, WC1.  
April 1.

From Mr Fred Jarvis

Sir, While I would take issue with some aspects of your leading article, "Classroom politics" (April 1), I strongly support your remarks about the destabilisation of the education system caused by a decade of "politicised reform" and your condemnation of the prime minister's

# Assisted places

From Mrs Gillian Sargent

Sir, Dr Christopher Tyerman (letter, April 1) suggests it is unfair that taxpayers, who for various reasons have not used independent schools, should help to subsidise the assisted-places scheme at those establishments. Why, then, is it fair that part of the taxes and community charge I pay should be used to help to subsidise state school education? My own sons, at considerable financial sacrifice to the family, have been educated in independent schools.

Yours truly,  
GILLIAN SARGENT,  
The Old Vicarage,  
Long Sutton, Somerset.  
April 1.

From Mr P. R. Ekberg

Sir, Dr C. J. Tyerman is mistaken in his belief that the assisted-places scheme mainly benefits the independent schools, and that the charitable element of the scheme is taxpayers' charity, not independent school charity.

The Department of Education and Science has, for some time, capped the fee increases of assisted places so that there is now an appreciable difference between the fees paid by

willingness to contemplate a return to the system of secondary education largely abandoned in the 1960s.

Conservative authorities are usually as proud as the others of their comprehensive schools and their opposition to "opting out" is virtually as strong. (It is for Mr Major to explain why opting out, which was originally proposed as a means of letting schools escape the "clutches" of left-wing local education authorities, has been resorted to more in Conservative than Labour authorities.)

From my recent correspondence with Mr Major, and from listening to Mr Clarke, the education secretary, I find the Conservatives' policies on secondary education utterly confused, though the underlying implication is a wish to restore selection, but not to advocate such a course openly before April 10.

Mr Major told me of his determination to "reverse the failings of the comprehensive system". He will not say, however, whether he intends to carry out his intention by restoring selection at 11, though that is the only logical conclusion, in my view, to draw.

Mr Clarke in one breath says he is prepared to allow opted-out schools

the DES and fee-paying parents. Schools with large foundations can afford this, but more modest schools are faced with a choice of raising fees of fee-paying parents even higher or restricting the number of assisted places offered.

The main benefit to schools is to see these gifted pupils blossom after the stifling mediocrity of comprehensive education.

Yours faithfully,  
P. R. EKBERG,  
Beaver Lodge, Acorns Way,  
Escher Park Avenue, Escher, Surrey.  
April 2.

From Mr D. A. G. Smith

Sir, I have read Dr Tyerman's letter about the assisted-places scheme. I have no idea what the statistics of Harrow School say about poor scholars. I believe those of Eton do mention them in several places. Schools within the assisted-places scheme have been committed since their foundation to admitting them. That is what the scheme is about.

Yours faithfully,  
DAVID SMITH (Chairman, Assisted Places Committee),  
Bradford Grammar School,  
Bradford, West Yorkshire.  
April 1.

# Change in N Ireland

From Mr A. L. T. Davies

Sir, In your leader, "The Orange card" (March 30), you state that "the British interest lies in a new, democratic administration in Northern Ireland with some Catholic involvement and with as much devolution from Westminster as possible". Does it?

The problem with Northern Ireland is that most of the political classes of the rest of the United Kingdom keep looking for solutions that are relatively quick and would command widespread active support: no such animal exists. There is no logical reason why Northern Ireland should be treated any differently from any other part of the United Kingdom: the people there should have the right to help choose the government of the nation.

The Conservative party is now organised in Northern Ireland and although its agenda is not likely to meet with quick success it does offer the prospect of a long-term change in the perspective through which political activity is viewed.

Most of the problems that currently afflict the national well-being are: transitory unemployment, inflation, and so on. Northern Ireland is not a transitory problem and

to become grammar schools if they wish, yet in the next breath says this will not mean the return of selection. In that case what does he understand a "grammar" school to be?

The reality is, as you rightly say, that we are already heading for Mr Clarke's three-tier system — private, state-maintained selective and "the sinks".

Yours faithfully,  
FRED JARVIS (General Secretary, National Union of Teachers, 1975-80),  
92 Hadley Road,  
New Barnet, Hertfordshire.  
April 2.

From Professor John Bynner and others

Sir, One area in education that deserves more debate in the general election is 16 to 19-year-olds.

Even if Britain succeeded, by the end of the century, in doubling participation in education and training at 18, we would still have the lowest participation rate in Europe — below half the level now in Belgium, Denmark, France and Germany.

Only a complete overhaul of the post-16 education system gives us a hope of catching up. To increase the incentive to stay on, young people need broad, relevant curricula and achievable examination goals. The present government has been obsessed with the preservation at all costs of the narrow-based A-level system, which segregates academic and vocational education.

A wide spectrum of opinion ranging from the CBI and the TUC to the Royal Society, the Royal Society of Arts and the Secondary Heads Association argues for a more balanced curriculum that will keep young people in education, will prepare them for active citizenship and will meet the needs of a modern European economy.

Labour's blueprint replaces the present morass of post-16 qualifications and curricula by a single integrated and modular Advanced Certificate of Education and Training. It offers the vision lacking from the present government's policies and deserves support.

Yours sincerely,  
JOHN BYNNER (City University),  
DAVID ASHTON  
(University of Leicester),  
FRANK COFFIELD  
(University of Durham),  
A. D. EDWARDS  
(Newcastle University),  
G. J. WHITTY (Goldsmiths College),  
City University,  
Northampton Square, EC1.  
April 3.

will not go away — in terms of human misery it ought to be the top priority in the political agenda. It would be far better for the Conservatives to endorse a period of opposition than for them to retain power in combination with parties that derive their support on the basis of a sectarian appeal.

Yours faithfully,  
A. L. T. DAVIES,  
Albany Cottage,  
Odiham, Hampshire.  
March 30.

From Mr Stephen Eyre

Sir, Your editorial made no mention of the best hope of unjamming Northern Ireland's politics: the real prospect that Conservative MPs will be returned from some Northern Ireland seats. Not only will this mark a break with the tired sectarian politics of the past, it will bring new ideas to replace those of some of the tired single-issue politicians we have endured for the past 20 years and more.

Yours faithfully,  
STEPHEN EYRE  
(Conservative candidate for Strangford),  
51 Court Street,  
Newtownards, Co. Down.  
March 30.

# Party Politics

From Mrs Jeanne Packer

Sir, Your report (April 6) stating that "... it may be logical for the Conservative party to claim the Grand National winner, Party Politics, as a new symbol of hope" conveniently overlooks one significant fact — Party Politics was steered to victory by a Welsh jockey.

Yours faithfully,  
JEANNE PACKER,  
49 Ashfield Road,  
Carterton, Oxford.

From Mr B. J. Goodchild

Sir, The victory of Party Politics makes me wonder whether "first past the post" is such an apt description of our present electoral system. Where is the post? On a racecourse we can all see it, but in a parliamentary constituency its position cannot be determined until after the race, by which time it is unnecessary.

Perhaps we should look for an alternative sporting term. I suggest "top scorer".

Yours faithfully,  
BARRY J. GOODCHILD,  
36 Hinton Road,  
Wallingford, Surrey.

From Mr David Bennett

Sir, So Party Politics was "first past the post" — who would have won the National under PR?

Yours faithfully,  
DAVID BENNETT,  
7 Ingress Terrace,  
Beisham, Kent.



# COURT CIRCULAR

## BUCKINGHAM PALACE

April 6: by command of The Queen, the Viscountess, Lord in Waiting, called upon The Yang Di-Pertuan Agong of Malaysia at the Dorchester Hotel, Park Lane, London W1, this morning and welcomed Her Majesty on their arrival in this country.

The Duke of Edinburgh, Trustee of the Prince Philip Trust Fund for the Royal Borough of Windsor and Maidenhead, attended a meeting of the trustees and a dinner at Englefield Green, Surrey, this evening.

The Princess Royal, Colonel-in-Chief, 8th Canadian Hussars (Princess Louise's), departed today from Royal Air Force Lyneham for a visit to the Regiment at Bergen-Hohne, Germany.

Her Royal Highness this evening attended the Royal Geographical Society's Lecture "Gerald Durrell's Army" at the Royal Geographical Society, Kensington Gore, London SW7.

## KENSINGTON PALACE

April 6: The Princess of Wales, Patron, Parkinson's Disease Society, this morning opened the Society's Headquarters at 22 Upper Woburn Place, London WC1.

Wing Commander David Barton, RAF, was in attendance. The Prince of Wales was represented by Air Vice-Marshal Richard Johns at the Memorial Service for Air Vice-Marshal Desmond Hughes which was held at St Michael and All Angels' Church, Royal Air Force College, Cranwell, today.

THATCHED HOUSE LODGE April 6: Princess Alexandra and Sir Angus Ogilvy this morning attended the funeral of Prince George Calverley which was held at the Dorchester Hotel, London SW7.

## Today's royal engagements

The Princess of Wales will attend a concert by Black Voices at St Stephen Walbrook at 11.50; and as President of the Hospital for Sick Children, Great Ormond Street, will attend the film premiere of *Hook* at the Odeon, Leicester Square, at 7.50.

Prince Edward will visit Poole and view the new ferry *MY Bayliner* at 1.20; will visit Sowerby, Poole, to open the new European distribution centre and headquarters at 2.30; will visit the Musicfest Youth Centre, Bournemouth, at 6.35.

Princess Margaret will open St Dominic's Housing Scheme, London Road, Stoke-on-Trent, at noon for the Coventry Churches Housing Association; will attend a luncheon given by the British Ceramic Manufacturers Federation, Station Road, at 12.55; and will visit Portmerion Pottery, Stoke-on-Trent, at 2.30.

The Duke of Gloucester will open the new classroom block at a luncheon given by the English Tourist Board at the Inter-Continental Hotel at 12.30.

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## Latest wills

Mr Charles Amherst Villiers, of Kensington, west London, engineer, inventor and painter, left estate valued at £180,306 net.

Miss Katharine Helen Diana Talbot, of Launceston, Devon, left estate valued at £3,021,529 net. She left her estate mostly to relatives.

Mrs Constance Julia Crickshaw, of Chelsea, London, left estate valued at £346,024 net. She left the entire amount equally between the British Rheumatism and Arthritis Association, the Cheshire Foundation and the RSPCA.

Other estates include (net, before tax paid):

Mr John Gavin Lawson, of Seahouses, Northumberland, £176,907.

Mr John Martin, of Haverhill, Devon, £561,985.

Mr John Digory Steevens, of Ivybridge, Devon, £582,080.

Mrs Dahlia Florence Sparshatt, of Southsea, Hampshire, £637,877.

Mrs Enid May Wright, of South Wigston, Leicestershire, £555,772.

Mr Richard Hillier, of Gloucestershire, £1,288,803.

Mr John Moran, of Barnard Castle, Co Durham, £1,180,174.

Mrs Penelope Rose Alice Perkins, of Ilppean, Devon, £1,359,595.

Mrs Phyllis Pike, of Trowbridge, Wiltshire, £1,131,775.

Mrs Grace Lilian Vernon, of Hampstead, £1,291,011.



A pensive Terry Waite ponders the music of Tasmin Little and Julian Lloyd Webber as they rehearsed yesterday for a "freedom concert" to be held at Blackheath concert halls, near his home in southeast London, on Thursday. Proceeds will go to Victim Support, the charity which helps victims of crime

## Call for emphasis on theology

By RUTH GLEDHILL, RELIGION CORRESPONDENT

A MEMBER of the general synod of the Church of England has condemned protestant fundamentalism, where "the evil emissaries are the liberal theologians of the decadent mainstream churches".

The Rev Dr Paul Avis calls for a higher standard of theological education for Anglican priests.

Archbishops and bishops should be theologically equipped to lead national, calm debate in synod meetings, he says.

Dr Avis, of the church's doctrine commission, which advises the church's bishops on doctrinal issues, says it is too easy for Christians to han-

der a form of power that produces measurable results: instant healings, spiritual gifts and other knock-down evidence for a reality from beyond this world.

Dr Avis, vicar of Stoke Canon, Exeter, describes a "vacuum of authority" in Anglicanism. He calls on the church to adjust to a new role as the conscience of capitalism.

"I would guess that the popular perception of the church at the present time is that it is more interested in sanctifying failure than in promoting success. Nothing is more calculated to render the church irrelevant."

In a book to be published next week, and endorsed by the Archbishop of York, Dr John Habgood, Dr Avis criticises the church's traditional negative attitude to sex.

"For two thousand years the church has given the firm impression that it does not - that God does not - approve of sex. It has been justly claimed that in the area of human sexuality the church has consistently failed mankind."

He argues that no one will believe the church's belated assurances that sexuality is a gift from God to be used for human happiness, until the church shows by its actions

that it neither regards sexual intercourse as a necessary condition for the procreation of the race, nor identifies women as icons of the erotic. This would entail ordaining women to the priesthood.

Dr Habgood, writing in the book's foreword, says the "crunch question" is whether the Church of England and the Anglican Communion is readable.

"The requirement that leaders should have intellectual stature, for instance, will not please those who glory in Anglican amateurism," he says.

Authority, Leadership and Conflict in the Church. Mowbrays, £8.99

## Forthcoming marriages

### Mr J.W.D. Carter and Miss S.L.B. Stiles

The engagement is announced between Jonathan, son of Mr P.D. Carter, of Horsley Manor, Gloucestershire, and Mrs J.M. Joseph, of Morgan's Cottage, St Bravels, Gloucestershire, and Lucy, daughter of Mr and Mrs R.A.G. Stiles, of Field Place, Dunsfold, Surrey.

### Mr D.M. Cutler and Miss E.M.H. Guest

The engagement is announced between David, son of the late Mr N.D. Cutler, and of Mrs Betty Cutler, of Bournemouth, and Elizabeth, daughter of Dr and Mrs G.H. Guest, of Cambridge.

### Mr F.L.T. Gooding and Miss K.M.S. Williams

The engagement is announced between Francis, only son of the late Mr Rupert Gooding, formerly of Singapore and of the late Mrs Constance Peters, of Croydon, Suffolk, and Katrina, only daughter of the late Mr David Williams, of Mrs Sylvia Williams, of Ranelagh Gardens, London, SW6.

### Mr P.C. Ingre and Miss A.C. Matthews

The engagement is announced between Peter, youngest son of Mr Tom Ingre, and of Mrs Jean Ingre, of West Wickham, Kent, and Angela, only daughter of Mr and Mrs Roy Matthews, 350 of West Wickham, Kent.

### Mr J.C. Naylor and Miss S.L. Drew

The engagement is announced between James, younger son of Mr and Mrs Hew Naylor, of Andleigh, Essex, and Sarah, youngest daughter of Mr and Mrs Colin Drew, of Stock, Essex.

### Mr I.W.S. Wootton and Miss C.J. Willocks

The engagement is announced between Ian, son of Mr and Mrs W.E.J. Wootton, of Pilton, Somerset, and Caroline, daughter of Mr G.R.W. Willocks and the late Mrs Willocks, of Noding, Suffolk.

## Marriage

### Mr P. Bowerman and Mrs A. Owen

The marriage took place in Penbroke on April 1, between Mr Paul Bowerman, of Pewsey, Wiltshire, and Mrs Angela Owen, of Narberth, Pembrokeshire.

## Birthdays today

Mr Dennis Amis, cricketer, 49; Viscount Brentford, 59; Miss Freddie Brilliant, sculptor, 84; Mr Francis Ford Coppola, film director, 53; Mr Luca Cumanini, race horse trainer, 43; Professor Graeme Davies, former vice-chancellor, Liverpool University, 55; Professor D.R. Denman, land economist, 81; Mr Peter Fluck, author and puppeteer, 51; David Frost, broadcaster, 53; Mr F.L. Garner, former chairman, Pearl Assurance, 72.

Mr James Garner, actor, 64; Lord Glenelg, 80; Mrs Janet Graham, former vice-chairman, National Consumer Council, 62; Mr Terence Harrison, chairman, Northern Engineering Industries, 59; Vice-Admiral Sir Arthur Hezlet, 78; Mr D.N. Ireland, headmaster of Loughborough Grammar School, 57; Mr Gordon Kaye, actor, 51; Mr Maryn Lewis, broadcaster, 47; Mr Cliff Morgan, former Head of Outside Broadcasting, BBC Television, 62; Mr Arthur K. Potter, Indian civil servant, 87; Mrs Jane Potter, former director, architecture and design, British Rail, 62.

Mr Ian Richardson, actor, 58; Mr Andrew Sachs, actor, 62; Pandi Ravi Shankar, star player, 22; Group Captain Mary Shaw, former director and matron-in-chief, SHRAPS, 59; Miss Alison Shrubsole, former principal, Homerton College, 67; Mr David J. Williams, chief constable, Surrey, 51.

## Appointment

Mr Ewen Southby-Tailyour to be Chairman of the World Ship Trust.

## Memorial service

### Air Vice-Marshal Desmond Hughes

The Prince of Wales was represented by Air Vice-Marshal Richard Johns at a memorial service for Air Vice-Marshal Desmond Hughes held yesterday at the Church of St Michael and All Angels, RAF College Cranwell.

The Rev R.W. Bailey officiated, assisted by Canon H.J. Stuart and Canon H. Wilson. Mr Michael Hughes and Mr R. Michael Hughes, sons, read the lessons and Mr Derek Smythe read *High Flight* by Pilot Officer John Gillespie Magee. The Ven. B.H. Lucas, Chaplain-in-Chief, RAF, preached the sermon and Air Chief Marshal Sir Christopher Foxley-Norris gave an address.

Air Vice-Marshal Hughes's honours were borne in procession by Mr Andrew Hughes, Mr Dominic Hughes, Mr Paul Hughes and Jonathan Hughes, grandsons.

## Luncheons

### The Lord Mayor

The Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress gave a luncheon yesterday at Guildhall in honour of Mr Alderman Robert Finch, the newly elected Alderman for the Wards of Cripplegate and Coleman Street, and their ladies.

### Royal Overseas League

Mr Basil Anderson, Agent-General for the Overseas League, gave a luncheon yesterday at Over-Seas House, St James's, by Sir Lawrence Byford, Chairman of the Royal Overseas League, and members of the central council.

Telephone 071 481 4000

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Telefax 071 782 7827

## DEATHS

ALSTED - On April 4th, at Stirling Royal Infirmary, Stirling, Scotland, after a long illness, Mr. Alsted, 80, died.

ARCHER - On Thursday April 2nd, at Eastbourne, D.G.H., after a long illness, Mr. Archer, 80, died.

BOWERS - On April 2nd, at 192, Catherine Street, London, Mr. Bowers, 80, died.

BUCHANAN-SMITH - On April 2nd, at 192, Catherine Street, London, Mr. Buchanan-Smith, 80, died.

CROOKER - On April 1st, in London, to Joanna (nee Percival) and Andrew, a second daughter, Peter.

FLIMMER - On April 4th, at 10, Victoria Street, London, Mr. Flimmer, 80, died.

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HARDY - On March 29th, at 10, Victoria Street, London, Mr. Hardy, 80, died.

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**BY JEREMY LAURANCE**  
**SOCIAL SERVICES CORRESPONDENT**

The number of residents claiming income support rose by a 22 per cent over the year to 231,000 and the aver-

## Continued from page 1

Another possibility would be to bring Umberto Bossi, the league leader, into government. If no alliance can be found, the country faces another election with the economy suffering in the interim.

**Mould splits, page 14**

The survey also suggests that some old people may be deliberately impoverishing themselves to get benefits when faced with fees averaging £200 to £300 a week, even though the Department of Social Security said that it was fraud to do so.

Income from NHS pay beds matched that in the private sector in the early 1970s but had fallen to an eighth by the late 1980s. Health authorities were given new freedom to earn revenue from private treatment under the Health and Medicines Act in 1989 but few have taken advantage of it.

**Shooting match: a Bosnian prisoner returns fire as he and civilians are attacked by Serbian snipers from the roof of a Sarajevo hotel during a peace march yesterday**

## Continued from page 1

Scores of road blocks were manned by so-called "greenberet" Muslim militias, along with units of the Patriotic League of Bosnia, a predominantly Muslim organisation also known as the "Bosnian army". Despite the urgent calls for a ceasefire, gunfire and explosions could still be heard last night.

● **Macedonia waits:** The EC yesterday postponed the recognition of Macedonia, which has been blocked for three months by Greece. Athens objects to the use of the name for fear of territorial claims on its northern province of the same name.

## Starr: nostalgic return to play in Liverpool

"I don't really know what they stand for. I saw George in an interview and he wasn't really sure either. But he didn't like what the others stood for." Then, in a reference to the yogic flying practised by party members, he added: "A lot of them aren't standing, they're ping-pong around the place."

Now he wanted a number one: "I made the record with selling records in mind. I'd be happy just to be in the top 20 but I'd love to be number one." He personally arranged a concert at Liverpool, at the Empire Theatre, because he said he had great memories of the venue: "I want to go back to Liverpool and play where I started out. I also want to give my dad and my auntie a day out."

**Harrison stands, page 9**

## Continued from page 1

Senior Conservatives remain convinced, however, that their support will prove stronger than indicated by the opinion polls. Professionals in both parties admitted that, with a volatile electorate and more don't knows than ever before, the election result remains on a knife-edge.

The final stages of the battle are being dominated by the question of who will best deliver economic recovery?

David Mellor, the chief secretary to the Treasury, said that "the catastrophe of rises in interest rates is the inevitable consequence of a Labour government". Launching the Tory *Unwrapping the package* paper, Mr Mellor said Labour's £1.1 billion recovery plan to counter the recession would prove irrelevant in a £623 billion economy. It was like sending a rowing boat to tow an ocean liner, he said.

**Election '92, pages 7, 9, 11, 13**  
**Question of character, page 16**  
**Diary, page 16**  
**Leading article**  
**and letters, page 17**  
**Wages worry, page 21**  
**Life & Times, page 5**  
**Media (L&T), page 7**

**ACROSS**

- 1 It's dirty road front of house-  
boat (6).
- 4 Smooth ending to impromptu in  
a piece of music — very loud!
- 10 In theory, perfect odds to explain  
(9).
- 11 King Alfred's first home at Rye  
(5).
- 12 Many embraced by forces' sweet-  
heart in dramatic scene (7).
- 13 Competitors' records (7).
- 14 Disciple's companion, knocking  
back the drink (5).
- 15 Tortilla cooked on the shore (8).
- 18 Beheaded oriental aristocracy?  
(8).
- 20 Too abbreviated — that French  
hail (5).
- 23 City fashionable in the past (7).
- 25 The old soldier ordered one to

26 Throws out letters to the Times (5).  
27 Mandarin dynasty Ireland established originally (9).  
28 Threatening language by a politician (8).  
29 Coming from a verse written in depression (6).

**DOWN**

1 Import diamonds in pack (5-3).  
2 Eminent although incompetent (7).  
3 Plant's stalk is at foot of mount (5-4).  
5 Circle, then head north, moving from a different position (2,3,5,4).  
6 A wretched thing, Tennyson's black ball (5).  
7 Leader going over solo involving new instrument (7).  
8 Last stage appearance (6).  
9 Industrial mediator having difficulties with the works siren (7-7).  
10 Extended odds in bizarre notice (9).  
17 Furious tough guys held in check (8).  
19 What makes you cry about good judgement (7).  
21 Drug for a pound — almost enough for one over the eight (7).  
22 Yelp from soldiers taken in by fraud (6).  
24 Declare no right to property, for example (5).

**Concise Crossword, page 9**  
**Life & Times section**

brighter. Northern Ireland should be bright, with showers. South Wales and southwest England will have some rain. Eastern England will have light rain, dying out. Other parts of England and Wales will have sunny spells and scattered showers. Outlook: mostly dry and bright tomorrow. On Thursday, rain from northwest will reach north Wales and northern England by evening.

[illegible]

	Bank Buys	Bank Sells
Australia \$	2355	218
Australia C/d	231.00	10.5

Australia \$	21.00	15.25
Belgium Fr	61.20	57.25
Canada \$	2.195	2.03
Denmark Kr	11.55	10.8
Finland Mk	8.30	7.7

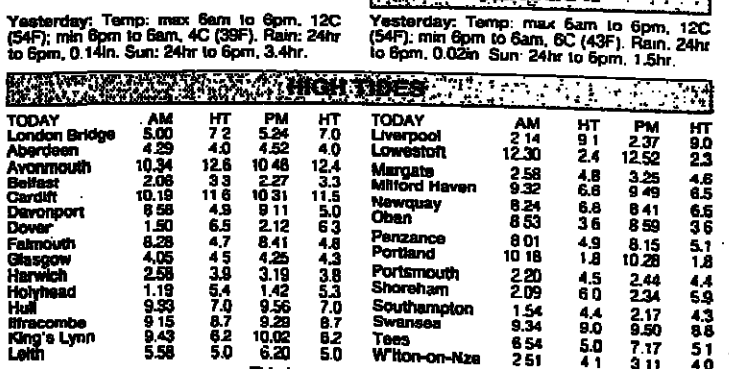
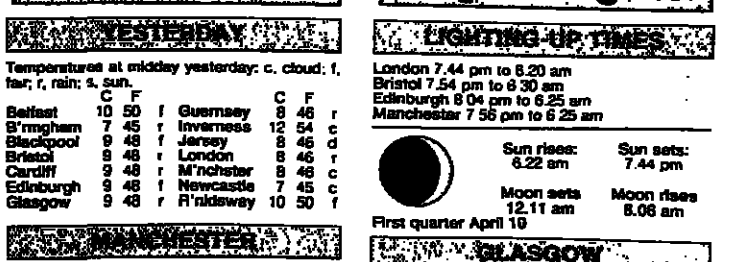
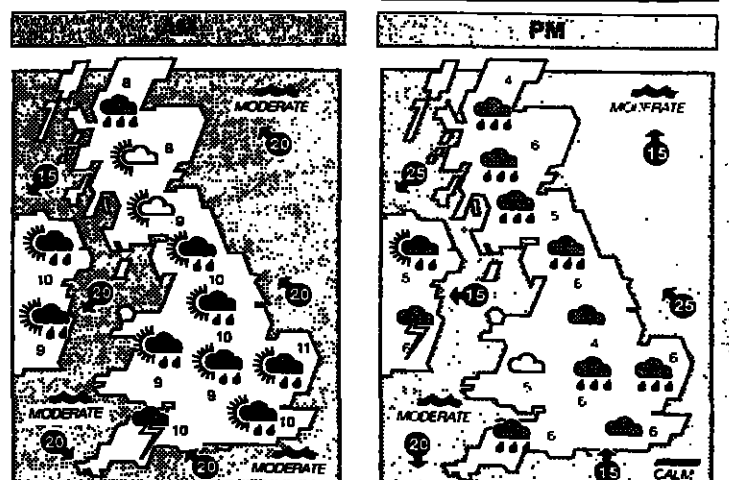
Hong Kong \$	14.15	13.1
Ireland Pt	1.117	1.04
Italy Lira	2255.00	2105.0
Japan Yen	250.25	231.2

Netherlands Gld	3.34	3.1
Norway Kr	11.74	10.9
Portugal Esc	254.25	236.2
South Africa Rd	5.45	4.8
Swiss Sfr	187.50	174.5

Turkey Lira	11300 0	10300 0
USA \$	1 85	1 7
Yugoslavia Dnr	DNB	DNB

Rates for small denomination bank notes only

**HIGHEST & LOWEST**



Tide in metres: 1m=3.2808ft.

**NOON TODAY**

Figure 1: A schematic diagram of a three-phase power system. It shows three voltage sources ( $V_1$ ,  $V_2$ ,  $V_3$ ) connected to three impedances ( $Z_1$ ,  $Z_2$ ,  $Z_3$ ). The impedances are connected in a star configuration to a common neutral point. The voltage sources are labeled "Warm front", "Cold front", and "Occluded front" respectively. The diagram is labeled "1008".

Information supplied by Met Office

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**BY ROSS TIEMAN, INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT**

The positive balances expecting an upturn, at 29 and 25 per cent, respectively, are a sharp improvement on the

**BY MATTHEW BOND**

Mr Orbach said Quarto Publishing, the core book publishing business, had held on to margins and raised revenues despite considerable price competition and poor trading conditions in most of its markets and he is optimistic about this year's prospects.

Stockpiles were expected to increase, a further sign that companies expect more sales. Export prospects were also reported to have improved.



**BY JONATHAN PRYNN**

Potter, chairman, said Psion would reap the benefit of its £5.2 million investment in new compact computers. A final dividend held at 1.4p makes 2.4p (same).

BY WOLFGANG MÜNCHALL, EUROPEAN BUSINESS CORRESPONDENT

Mauno Koivisto, The president of Finland, has also confirmed the immediate appointment of Sirkka Hämäläinen as the first woman to become governor of the central bank.

The measures taken yester-

The financial problems and the centre-right government's austerity programme come after one of the most disastrous years for the Finnish economy, during which economic output plummeted by 6.1 per cent, partly as a result of the collapse in the trade with the then Soviet Union.

## Aviva posts losses

**FORTNUM & Mason**, the Piccadilly department store controlled by Garry Weston, the chairman of Associated British Foods, has reported a marginal increase in pre-tax profits to a record £2.1 million in the 52 weeks to January 25, £59,000 higher than those struck in 1990. Exports rose 47 per cent to £4.3 million and accounted for over 17 per cent of group sales. The company is changing its financial year end to July, so is paying a second interim dividend of 86p (84p), to make a total to date of 96p (92p).

**SEVERFIELD-REEVE**, the steel fabricator, is passing its final dividend after a further deterioration in trading in the second half of 1991. The company said its priority was to conserve cash. Shareholders received an interim dividend of 1p a share, against a reduced total payout of 3p for 1990. John Reeve, chairman, said it was the company's intention to restore the dividend as soon as trading conditions allowed. Annual profits fell from £1.86 million before tax to £530,000 on a turnover down from £21.51 million to £16.89 million.

DRESDNER Bank earned net profits of DM651.9 million in 1991, against DM921.2 million in 1990 when there was an extraordinary profit of DM300 million from the consolidation of its Berlin unit. At the operating level, earnings rose 23 per cent to DM2.5 billion in 1991, with operating profits at the parent bank up 40 per cent to DM1.8 billion, said Wolfgang Roeller, chief executive. The bank expects a satisfactory 1992 profit underpinned by a rise in interest rate margins and improvements in securities fee income.

**COOPER** Clarke, a builders' merchant, returned to profit in the eight months to December 31, though trading conditions remained difficult. Pre-tax profits for the period were £126,000, on a turnover of £13.2 million. No dividend is proposed. In the 12 months to April 30, 1991, the company reported a £274,000 pre-tax loss. Asset disposals and a rights issue have reduced gearing to 20 per cent and Cooper Clarke believes many financial and managerial difficulties it faced a year ago have been resolved.

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# Whitbread says bad debts will wipe £37m off profits

BY MARTIN WALLER

**TUMBLING** property values, especially in the South-East, have claimed another victim with an announcement from Whitbread, one of Britain's biggest brewers, that £37 million will be wiped off pre-tax profits for the latest financial year because of a need to increase provisions on bad loans to the free trade.

Whitbread, like many other brewers, lends millions of pounds to public houses and other retail outlets during the leisure boom in the late Eighties to develop the businesses, in return for agree-

ments to take the brewer's beer. The company gave a warning with the half-year figures in November of an increasing number of such loans going sour as the businesses' sales and the value of their property assets tumbled.

Whitbread now says it has completed a review of the free trade loan portfolio and trading debts that at the end of February, the financial year-end, totalled £250 million. The review had thrown up the need to make an abnormally high charge for bad and

doubtful debts, expected to be £37 million higher than in normal years.

The stock market had been expecting bad news on trade loans when Whitbread reports on May 18, but the worst estimates had been in the £25 million area, and the Whitbread A shares fell by 18p to 360p.

The company says its bad debt position is worse than some competitors because of its concentration in the South-East, which has been worst hit.

Peter Jarvis, the chief executive, said the businesses had borrowed money from Whitbread on the basis of sales forecasts that had failed to be met and independent property valuations that had been followed by a collapse in property values.

He denied that Whitbread sales people who arranged the loans had been "outrageously optimistic". Whitbread has also announced that it is set to withdraw from a potentially expensive venture to expand the Pizza Hut restaurant chain in France, Belgium and The Netherlands because of a failure to reach agreement with the franchisor, the American PepsiCo soft drinks corporation.

The two parties failed to negotiate an acceptable exit agreement that would allow Whitbread to recover enough of the investment should it need to pull out in future. "We just felt we had to get a better protection for the sort of investment it was going to take to put the franchise across the whole of France," Mr Jarvis said.

The potential cost ran into hundreds of millions of pounds. Whitbread and Pepsi will now "explore alternative ownership arrangements," with one possibility being the transfer of ownership of the business to the American corporation.

The Pizza Hut joint venture in Britain between Whitbread and Pepsi is not affected. Heineken, the Dutch brewer that has a 23-year-old licensing agreement with Whitbread under which the British firm produces lager for the British market, has denied a report of a possible closer link between the two. "It is not under discussion. This kind of rumour comes up all the time," a spokeswoman said.



Dual role: Paul Reichmann was on the board of a bank that is owed US\$756 million by his company

## O&Y head quit bank before problems

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT IN NEW YORK

PAUL Reichmann, who was replaced as president of Olympia & York Development last month, resigned as a director of the property company's lead bankers a few weeks before O & Y publicly acknowledged cash problems, it emerged last night.

Although O & Y will not pinpoint the date of the resignation letter, it is understood Mr Reichmann resigned as a director of Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce (CIBC) in late February or early March.

O & Y's credit rating was cut at the end of February by the Canadian Dominion Bond Rating Service. In the first week of March, the property concern run by Mr Reichmann and his two brothers announced that it was selling assets.

By the middle of the month, it acknowledged that there was a cash squeeze over its short-term credit in the commercial paper market: by March 22, bankers were calling for a meeting to re-structure its debts.

O & Y is estimated to owe CIBC US\$672 million on property in Canada and New York and just under \$84 million for loans on its office development at London's Canary Wharf.

A spokesman for O & Y said yesterday that the resignation took place "a number of weeks ago", before the current cash problems hit the company. He gave no reason for it. Others familiar with the company said Mr Reichmann wanted to avoid what might have appeared to be a conflict of interest.

The O & Y spokesman said Mr Reichmann held no other boardroom positions with other banks or outside companies linked to the current O & Y debt restructuring.

More than 100 banks have been invited to a special creditors' meeting in Toronto next Monday. They are due to be given a detailed breakdown of O & Y's debts. The meeting has already been postponed for a week, because of what analysts describe as the lack of management systems at O & Y, the world's largest property developer.

## Laura Ashley pulls back into the black

BY GILLIAN BOWDITCH

LAURA Ashley, the garment and home furnishing retailer that celebrates its 40th anniversary next year, reported results in line with City expectations but said the economic environment had not improved noticeably in any of its main markets.

A £10.1 million reduction in the interest charge to £2.3 million led to a profit before interest and exceptional items of £2.7 million in the year to January 25 against a loss of £6.7 million. There were exceptional costs of £11.8 million, which led to a pre-tax loss of £9.1 million against a loss of £11.5 million.

Turnover fell from £328 million to £261 million. The loss per share is 3.9p against a loss of 4.4p. There is a nominal dividend of 0.1p, the same as last time, which the Ashley family and the group's directors have agreed to waive.

The exceptional costs included £4.9 million for restructuring costs, £3.4 million for the distribution deal with Federal Express, £2.6 million for American share write-downs and £1.1 million for the rationalisation and relocation of the North American head office. Jim Maxmin, chief executive, said that in

the UK total gross profit was up by 2.5 per cent in the first two months of the current financial year.

In continental Europe, sales are up 14 per cent on a year on year basis but in America, garment sales are down by more than 10 per cent and home furnishing sales are flat. The shares were unchanged at 93p.

Mr Maxmin said: "Economic and political uncertainty continue to create difficult trading conditions." "However, the main challenges facing Laura Ashley in the year ahead are firmly within the control of the management. The various management initiatives are producing the desired results and the company is optimistic of achieving the profit targets set at the beginning of the year."

Temps. page 24

## Losses double at First American

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT IN NEW YORK

FIRST American Bankshares, the bank holding company which is based in Washington and which was secretly owned by the collapsed Bank Of Credit and Commerce International (BCCI), more than doubled its losses last year to \$358 million.

The bank paid out almost \$26 million in legal fees to a dozen law firms to handle BCCI-related enquiries originating from government investigators.

The investigations also led to a run on the bank's deposits which fell almost \$2 billion last year to \$7.08 billion, but which the bank says have now stabilised.

First American Bankshares is seeking what is believed to be about \$100 million of fresh capital from the government of Abu Dhabi, its 28 per cent shareholder and which was also the principal shareholder in the Bank Of Credit

and Commerce International.

The Abu Dhabi government has already injected \$100 million into the bank but is now believed to want to wait and see the scale of its losses from the current liquidation of BCCI before committing additional funds.

Mr George Davis, a former Citicorp executive appointed president of First American Bankshares three months ago, said the bank's former links with BCCI have hampered efforts to raise cash.

Mr Davis said the bank's losses last year stemmed mainly from bad property loans in the metropolitan area around Washington. A US government investigation continues into the bank's loans and the activities of Clark Clifford, former chairman, and Robert Altman, president, who were forced to resign last year.

## Hilldown reshuffles managers

Sir Harry Solomon's Hilldown Holdings is reshuffling its management as part of a continued concentration on international food manufacturing.

Charles Bowen, the director responsible for the European activities of Hilldown's food processing and distribution division, is to move to Canada as head of the North American operations. Mr Bowen becomes president and chief executive officer of Maple Leaf Foods.

Bart Constandse, responsible for Hilldown International, will become chairman of the Premier companies in Europe. He will also join the main Hilldown board. Among other changes, the role of Michel Buswell, responsible for the UK meat companies, is extended to the rest of Europe.

## Plaxton sells

Plaxton Group, the troubled coachbuilder and motor distributor, is selling subsidiaries at Bolton and Rochdale, in Greater Manchester, to managers for £2.7 million. Plaxton, due to change its name to Henleys, will concentrate on coach and bus building at Scarborough.

## Diploma buys

Diploma, the electronic and building components group, has paid £10.4 million for a 90 per cent stake in Anachem, a Luton supplier of biomedical and environmental analysis products.

## Coats closure

Coats Virella, the clothing and textiles group, has repeated its announcement of the impending closure of the Peter England shirt factory at Magherafelt, County Londonderry, Northern Ireland, with the loss of 516 jobs. Another 50 posts will be cut at the sister plant at Maytown, near Derry.

## Freeze sought

Hafnia Holding has asked the Copenhagen bourse to suspend trading in its shares until its talks on co-operation with other Scandinavian insurers have been concluded.

## Embargo lifted

The European Community is to lift its embargo on oil exports to South Africa, according to Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the German foreign minister. He was speaking after a meeting of foreign ministers in Luxembourg. João de Deus Pinheiro, the Portuguese minister who chaired the meeting, said details of the decision were being worked out.

## Chepstow reins in its plans

BY JONATHAN PRYNN

AMBITIONOUS property development plans at The Chepstow Racecourse, shares in which are quoted on the stock market, will remain on ice until the economy recovers, the company said yesterday.

Chepstow was one of the success stories of the post-crash stock market, with the shares soaring on the prospect of profits from a hotel and golf course development. But Glynn Clay, the chairman, said yesterday there was "no hope" of carrying out the plans "in the present state of the economy".

Pre-tax profits rose 35 per cent to £63,573 last year on turnover of £1.65 million. Mr Clay said the increase was due to the company's success in promoting non-racing activities such as the markets that are held at the course on Sundays.

However, a high tax bill of £22,117 (£6,439) reduced post tax earnings to £41,756, almost unchanged on last year. The higher charge was caused by architects' fees of £20,000 relating to the new stand not being allowed for in taxation. All the boxes in the stand are fully let and income-producing. Mr Clay said. The dividend was held at 1p.

Mr Clay said the current year's result should be helped by the running of the Welsh Grand National, which always takes place at Chepstow on the bank holiday after Christmas. In the past, this has doubled or trebled the day's take, he said.

## Chelsea seeks stadium deal

BY OUR CITY STAFF

MORE details of the "elegant solution" that could resolve the long-running dispute between Chelsea Football Club and Cabra Estates, the club's landlords, are emerging.

Last week, the Court of Appeal gave Chelsea until this Thursday to pay Cabra £22.85 million for the Stamford Bridge ground in west London, or face eviction at the end of the season. Assuming the club fails to come up with the cash, Cabra could also initiate winding-up proceedings against it.

Despite the impending deadline, Ken Bates, Chelsea's chairman, is still optimistic that a deal can be done with Cabra. Chelsea's advisers are hoping to agree the outright purchase of SB Property, which owns both Stamford Bridge and Craven Cottage. Fulham Football

Club's riverside home. Cabra currently owns 83.5 per cent of SB, the balance being held by Chelsea. Sir Richard Attenborough and private shareholders.

Chelsea's proposed deal purports to offer Cabra SB's full net asset value. That might be about £29 million after incorporating the £22.85 million valuation of Stamford Bridge into last year's balance sheet. As 83.5 per cent owner, Cabra's share of that would be more than £24 million.

However, Cabra is believed to owe SB more than £10 million in inter-group debt. Cancelling that, and repaying SB's own debts, would reduce Chelsea's cash consideration to £12 million or £13 million. As well as the cash, Cabra would receive vacant possession of Craven Cottage.

That would mean Fulham ground-sharing with Chelsea at Stamford Bridge.

The result of the deal would be that Chelsea got Stamford Bridge and Cabra about £12 million in cash, a reduced debts and vacant possession of the Craven Cottage site.

Whether the elegance of Chelsea's solution appeals to John Duggan, Cabra chairman, should become clearer today, when he returns from holiday. Before his departure, Mr Duggan rejected a similar deal, insisting that Chelsea had to meet the court's deadline or face the consequences.

That rejection prompted the purchase by Mr Bates of a 29.6 per cent stake in Cabra and a call for Mr Duggan to be removed as chairman at an extraordinary meeting to be held next month.

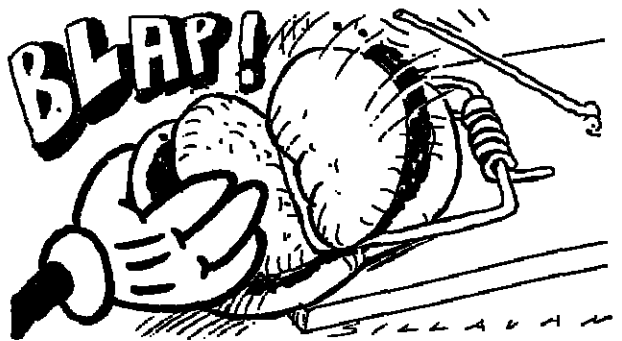
## Disney savours a taste for cuddly toys

FROM PHILIP ROBINSON IN NEW YORK

MICKEY Mouse burgers have left a sour taste in Walt Disney's mouth. The entertainment group, which is due to open its \$4 billion Euro Disney theme park at Paris on Sunday, has closed its two-year experiment with fast food to concentrate on shops that sell its cuddly toys.

Disney has gone for the money. While its attempts at a "McMickey" limped along at about break-even, profits from its merchandising stores were up 15 per cent last year, and sales jumped almost 40 per cent.

Disney plans a further 400 over the next four years, most of them outside America. Britain's four Disney stores are among its best performers, with the Regent Street, London, and Glasgow shops ranked second and third in



the world behind Honolulu. Another dozen Disney stores are due to open in Britain this year, starting in Bromley this month, followed by Bristol, Edinburgh and Nottingham. The expansion is likely to take Disney's UK shop sales from about £1.8 million to £2.2 million and create about 300 new jobs.

Mark Lilly, senior vice-president and general manager of Disney Stores

Europe, said: "Our most popular products are the stuffed soft animals. Many of our customers have already been to either the Disney theme park in California or Florida. We are seeing a lot of interest in *The Little Mermaid* and now in characters from *Beauty and the Beast*, the musical animation film which opens in the UK in the autumn."

The Disney stores occupy an average 4,000 to 5,000 sq

ft, carry 3,000 products lines and usually sell about \$650 of merchandise per sq ft each year. Stephen Burke, Disney's executive in charge of retailing, confirmed that Mickey's Kitchens were "a test" that broke even. "We tried to move into areas that are more profitable for us," he added.

Jack Trout, a Connecticut retail analyst, said: "I think it was kind of silly of them to go into that business. The US is not exactly short of fast food operations that are orientated towards kids."

Disney plans to lift its worldwide stores network from 126 to 500 within four years. It opened 45 new stores last year and plans about 50 more in America, among others in Britain, France, Japan, Germany, Singapore and Hong Kong. Mr Burke said: "No one has ever really been a worldwide retailer until now."

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**TEMPUS**

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# Britain bargains too hard for the minimal effect of minimum wage

## Markets see no need for panic

Few people in the financial markets would be genuinely surprised if Neil Kinnock crossed the threshold of Downing Street, however much they regret the prospect. Why, then, should a change of government signal the widely expected run on sterling? Money and foreign exchange markets are thought particularly vulnerable to changes in government, because they are influenced directly by short-term policy measures. Bond and equity prices, by contrast, are driven primarily by long-term economic prospects. Yet in this election, interest and exchange rates may be less at risk than long bond yields and equity prices, thanks to the ERM to which all parties bow.

Investors may want to test a new government's commitment to ERM membership but who is going to stake really big money on this test? Many fundamental doubters have made their exit already, contributing to the sharp drop in gilt-edged prices in the past three weeks. With sterling already so close to its ERM floor, short-term speculators would have to count on a realignment within weeks to make good profits.

The chances of any incoming government eating its pledges and devaluing so quickly are minimal. Even if the medium-term prospects for the British economy and sterling were completely grim, the government would make good use of the plentiful foreign exchange reserves as a first defence and expect support from other ERM members, most of whose currencies also rely on the credibility of the ERM safety net. If intervention failed, Britain would raise its interest rates long before considering devaluation. The pre-emptive increase discussed in the City might, however, prove unnecessary, even counter-productive. Why should a government play its trump card before speculators show their rather weaker hand? Indeed, traders might well decide that shorting sterling immediately after the election was a mug's game.

## Voters hit EMU

Europe's citizens may not be voting on the issue of economic and monetary union, but their decisions are questioning its progress. The economic message from the elections is unambiguous: France is jittering. Germany is swaying and Italy wobbling. Italy was never likely to have reduced government borrowing to the Maastricht limit of an underlying 3 per cent by 1997-9. At least it could have made visible progress in that direction. With no firm government in place, spending cuts are much harder to implement. Germany's fallible management of unification has already tarnished its reputation for economic soundness. Political stability could be the price. After yesterday's strong showing by ultra-right parties, Helmut Kohl lost his last regional west German power base, and much personal credibility.

The architects of the Maastricht deal, François Mitterrand, Herr Kohl, Giulio Andreotti and John Major, have all suffered falls in popularity due to recession and their countries are becoming more introspective. Germany has yet to ratify the agreement, which will be no walkover given the shift in parliamentary power. As Europe's economies grow more slowly, fewer countries will be able to meet the Maastricht convergence tests; even Germany might miss the target. Without Germany, there will be no single currency. To keep Italy out might be economically easy but would be politically dangerous. Unless there is a return to stability, the introduction of a European single currency by the end of this decade should not be taken for granted.

## Continental experience would indicate that

Labour's pay plan and

Tory opposition is

much ado about

nothing, says

Wolfgang Münchau

Landmark changes in social policy have never been introduced without furious protests. Be it the abolition of slavery, the introduction of health and safety legislation, or equal pay for women: each time fears were raised that such policies would be inflationary and damaging to the country's competitiveness. Some people might want to draw parallels with the arguments raging in Britain today over a statutory minimum wage.

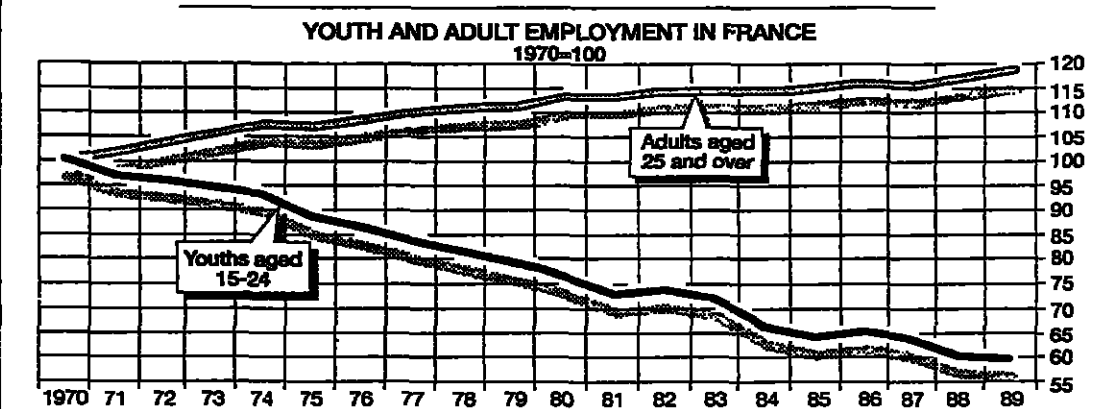
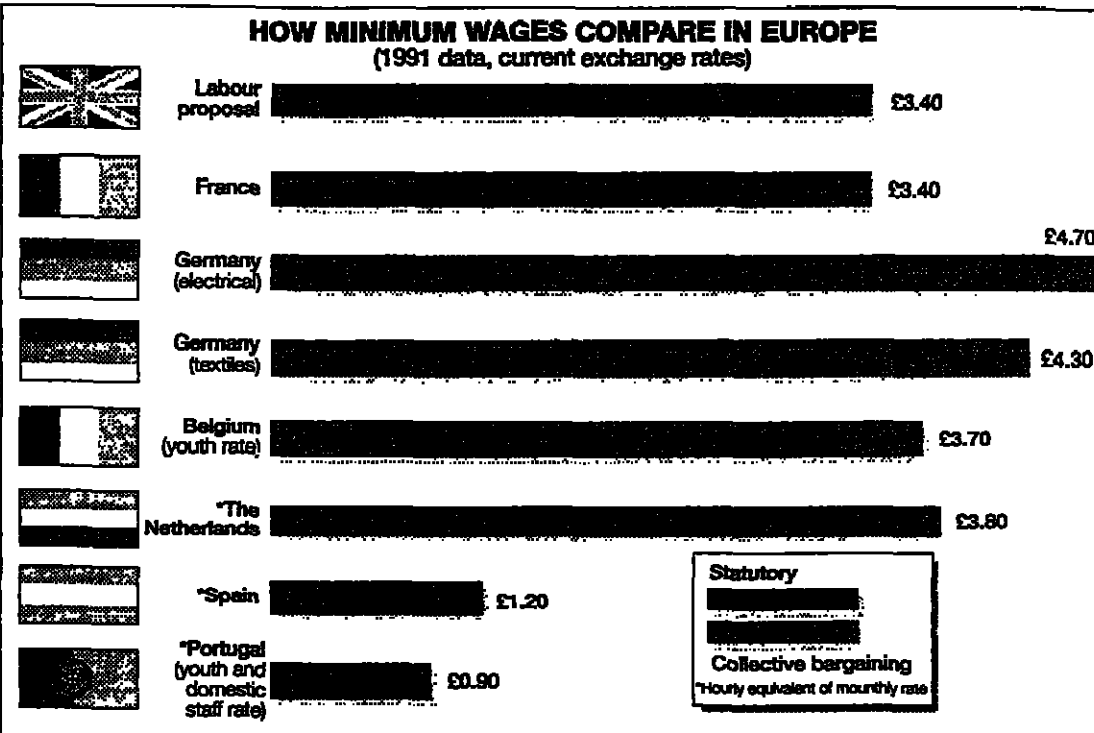
Rules or agreements imposing minimum wages are commonplace in the European Community and also exist in America. Even in Britain, wages have been fixed by statutory bodies in some traditional low-wage industries for three generations. The debate is about whether Britain should follow suit in imposing a general minimum wage. The Labour party thinks it should, and plans to introduce a minimum wage at £3.40 an hour, equivalent to about half the average of male earnings, by next year.

The most unifying aspect of this debate is the way everybody seems to exaggerate the measure's likely impact. Supporters claim it would improve the living conditions of the poor dramatically. Opponents say it would render the British economy uncompetitive and would lead to a massive rise in unemployment.

The experience of a minimum wage in Europe would suggest that neither claim is true. The social justice claim is exaggerated, while assertions that a minimum wage would wreck the economy do not bear comparison. Those who make such claims rely on the assumption that the economic effects of a minimum wage are predictable. This is not so.

Since the majority of economists have proved incompetent even at forecasting the rate of economic growth over a 12-month period, one should treat with suspicion claims that they can predict accurately the effects of a policy whose outcome would become visible only in the medium term and which depends entirely on how employers will react to it. The problem of forecasting the impact of minimum wages is well established, and any serious analysis of this subject carries a methodological health warning.

This minor inconvenience has not deterred some from producing wild claims about the direct reduction in employment resulting from a £3.40 minimum wage. These estimates range from 8,800 (Liverpool University), to 49,100 (City University), to 102,400 (the Treasury). The Confederation of British Industry even claimed that unemployment would



soar by 150,000, and Michael Howard, employment secretary, suggested an ultimate figure of about 2 million, including indirect effects. Any serious amateur could join them: just pick an average-sized telephone number, divide by 2, 20, or 200, depending on party affiliation; and if you are the careful type, make sure you pick a generous margin of error, and you are there.

A better way of finding out about the minimum wage is to look at the situation elsewhere in Europe and draw qualitative rather than quantitative conclusions. From a British point of view, the most comparable country is probably France, where a minimum wage is statutory, as proposed by Labour, and not based on industry-wide agreements as is common in Germany. The French minimum wage works out at about equivalent to Labour's proposal of £3.40 an hour. In Germany, the effective minimum wage is about £1 higher, the precise amount depending on region and industry.

The French *Salaires Minimum Interprofessionnel de Croissance* (SMIC) regime was introduced in 1950. President Mitterrand raised the SMIC 10 per cent when he came to power in 1981, and each year the minimum wage goes up by at least the rate of inflation, though it can be more. In 1989, about 8.2 per cent of the workforce benefited from the

SMIC provisions. In France, the SMIC is not a contentious policy, and is broadly supported by employers, unions and the main political parties alike. The debate tends to focus on the level, rather than the necessity, of the minimum wage.

France has a problem of youth employment, as the chart illustrates, although the official youth unemployment rate has improved considerably since 1985. According to an analysis by Stephen Bazen and John Martin, published in *OECD Economic Studies* a year ago, a minimum wage increased youth unemployment to some extent. There are still doubts about cause and effect. "We have not been able to establish satisfactorily, however, that increases in real youth labour costs have had a negative impact on youth employment — even though we believe this to be the case," they wrote. Notably, the impact of a minimum wage on adult employment "appears to be zero".

The results are broadly in line with the experience in America, a country which, free-market traditions notwithstanding, also operates a statutory minimum wage, although at a lower level than in France. The consensus among American economists was that "increases in the federal minimum

wage have had small negative effects on teenage unemployment".

In both cases, a minimum wage does not appear to threaten adult employment but has a small effect on youth unemployment (15 to 24-year-olds). It has, however, a large effect on youth earnings. The authors recommend that the rise in minimum wages should lag behind average earnings, or that "special sub-minimum wages for young workers" should be introduced.

This has happened to some extent in France, where the government introduced special training and community work schemes at pay rates below the minimum wage. This amounts to differential pay scales and may be one of the factors that has led to a fall in French youth unemployment from 34 per cent in 1985 to 18.4 per cent in 1989. The problem with a statutory minimum wage is that it tends not to take account of regional and industrial differences. In Germany, minimum wages form part of industry-wide bargaining agreements and these differ for each region and industry. There are also loopholes. Only 90 per cent of the workforce is covered by these agreements.

Opponents argue that a minimum wage would set in motion a wage-price spiral, because higher groups would want to maintain wage differentials. The effect of dif-

ferentials is thought to be marginal in industry, although there might be a problem in the public service, especially the national health service, where pay is strictly graded. Comparisons with France, however, would not support the differential theory. France has lower average wage, for production workers, than Britain, despite the minimum wage.

There is, however, a big difference between continuing a minimum wage regime and introducing one. If employers pass on the extra costs in higher prices, a minimum wage could prove inflationary, but no more than a rise in VAT, and the rise in inflation should be temporary. Unemployment might go up to some extent, or profits might come down, or both.

Only a few, not necessarily well-performing, industries, would be hit. The impact on the economy as a whole is likely to be limited. Positive impulses would come from greater purchasing power and higher tax revenues. The combined effect of all these measures would be difficult to predict.

Most of the reputable economic analysis on the subject concludes, with ample health warnings about methodology, that the overall economic impact of a minimum wage is small. Equally, there is little evidence that a minimum wage has any measurable effect in eradicating poverty, as its proponents claim.

According to a study by Paul Gregg for the *National Institute Economic Review*, the national minimum wage is well-targeted only for the poorest families, where at least one member is at work. "However, a national minimum wage is weakly targeted on all poor families for the reason that most are poor as a result of not having a job." Confirming the experience in France, Mr Gregg comes to the conclusion that "targeting on families who are likely to spend long periods in poverty would be much improved by a reduced rate for youths that is related to their age. This would also reduce the cost to the economy by around a quarter".

In view of the great amount of research on the subject, the Institute for Personnel Management said that "if more comprehensive legislation on minimum wages were to be introduced, the way in which it was done would be critically important in ensuring that the objectives were achieved and adverse effects kept to a minimum". The way a minimum wage hits employment would depend on how quickly it is introduced, whether it allows for some loopholes, for certain industries and young employees.

In this respect, Labour's proposal to fix the statutory minimum wage at 50 per cent of average male earnings for all sectors of the economy appears crude. Provided the edges of such could be smoothed, continental experience shows that the effects of a minimum wage are neither extraordinarily bad nor good. As long as it is intelligently applied, a minimum wage regime does no great harm.

## THE TIMES CITY DIARY

### Moore is top down under

IS THERE no stopping Nick Moore, one of the City's more extrovert commodities analysts? Moore, who works for Ord Minnett, the stockbroking arm of Westpac, Australia's biggest bank, has just become the first non-Australian to be voted a number one analyst by Australian institutions. "I was amazed at how perceptive they were," says Moore, aged 32, who took over the chairmanship of the Association of Mining Analysts from Rob Davies of Lehman International, in January, and has just returned from a trip down under. He won his accolade from *Australian Business Monthly*, a financial magazine, which referred in passing to "the gregarious Nick Moore". In true antipodean style, he has since received several letters of congratulation addressed to "Greg Moore". Such slips aside, he firmly believes that base metals are about to boom, and is eagerly looking forward to his third triumph — his wife, Eleanor, is expecting their second baby in May.

### Toast to Lloyd's

HAVING cancelled holidays and cut back on the dinner parties, stricken members of Lloyd's are now making the ultimate sacrifice — they are selling off their wine cellars. One of the gainers is Richard Harvey-Jones of Suffolk, who is proving as successful in the wine trade as his namesake is in the world of television and consultancy. "There has been quite a pick-up in selling off cellars," says Harvey-Jones, who recently snapped up

### NEW CAR SALES



eight bottles of Mouton Rothschild 1961 worth £4,000 at a healthy discount. "It's just part of the financial climate we're living in. When times are bad, people sell their wine," Sir John once invited him to lunch in the ICI boardroom to see whether they were related, but it seems the only things they have in common are an eye for a deal... and a taste in wine.

### Telling thoughts

LORD Young of Gifford, who left politics in 1990 to become chairman of Cable and Wireless, enjoyed a break from the election. A director of the Royal Opera House Trust, he was spotted enjoying Rossini's *William Tell* in a box at the Royal Opera House last Thursday. Lord Young admits that as the curtain went up at the Opera House his thoughts were very much on the 1987 election — perhaps harking back to "wobbly Thursday" when the Tories thought they might fall. Lord Young took over at the time with an eleven-hour advertising campaign that many thought saved the day. "Was I thinking about it

last Thursday? The answer is yes," he adds. "Would have I gone back five years? The answer is no." The five weeks of the campaign, he says, "were the longest five weeks of my life".

OVERHEARD at a client seminar in the City: "When a company hit by recession has lost direction there are only two ways to recover — change the management or change the management."

### Beating the drum

ASPIRING City oarsmen who watched Saturday's boat race and felt a yearning to be back behind the paddle can sign up for this summer's Dragon Boat Race on the Isle of Dogs. The charity event is being co-ordinated by Olympic oarsman Chris Baillieu and Rosie Randolph, wife of Robert Randolph, the London business development director of Matheson Securities, the stockbroking arm of Jardine Matheson. Proceeds will go to the Turren Trust, which raises money for a more unusual boating event — the Aegean sea trials of the Olympias, a working reconstruction of the most famous of ancient Greek warships. Matheson Securities is putting up a team of 16 oarsmen and Alastair Villiers, aged 53, the managing director, is taking on the roll of time-beating drummer. According to Robert Randolph, Villiers has taken to doing his drum practice first thing every morning. "There's an impressive rhythm reverberating around St Helen's Place — he's quite clearly a natural," Randolph says.

JON ASHWORTH

## BUSINESS LETTERS

### Oiling the 'innovation machine'

From Mr Geoffrey Vincent

Sir, Your article "Survivors try to make the cellular telephone upwardly mobile again" (*Business News*, April 1) well illustrates the pitfalls facing those who launch innovative products and services — especially telecommunications services. But if they do not do so, we will all be the poorer.

The DTI's initiative in licensing new "personal communications" services — both telepoint and PCN — has had repercussions around the world. Some 15-20 countries are experimenting in different ways with the CT2 technology developed for telepoint in the UK, and others are planning to introduce services related to PCN.

The intent behind this initiative — to provide improved telecommunications services to a wider market, at a lower cost — can only be applauded. Nevertheless, the way the drama has been played out in the UK has left companies and investors reeling hurt to lick their wounds, and an understandable reluctance, with some honourable exceptions, to re-enter the fray.

It would be a pity if UK industry, having suffered the initial battle scars, left the field clear for others in France, Hong Kong, the USA and Japan to reap the benefit. It is in all our interests to have UK companies succeed in what will be a growth area on a global scale over the next decade.

Successful innovation — turning ideas into profitable business — involves a complex interaction between industry, government, the financial community and end users. Each of these plays an essential role, but none of them can succeed alone. To bring the UK's "innovation

machine" up to the standard of those of Japan and Germany, we need an extensive — and public — debate on how innovation works.

The UK is a prolific source of ideas (and personal communications is a good idea that will make millions for some). Too often, these ideas flow directly into the smoothly running innovation machines of other economies.

Protection will not work: the only solution open to us is to overhaul our own machinery for innovation — and the first step is to understand why and how it breaks down. Your article is a helpful contribution.

Yours faithfully,  
GEOFFREY VINCENT  
(Business Development Director, Information Industry, PA Consulting Group, Cambridge Laboratory, Royston, Hertfordshire.)

### Chairmen's pay

From T. M. Baring

Sir, It is time to stop the periodic uproar over company chairmen's salaries. Could not the CBI establish a code of ethics on the following lines?

Large increase of salary should only be made when large profits warrant. There should be no increase at all in a year when the chairman exhorts his workers to restrain their wage demands, or when large numbers of previously loyal workers are being shed.

If all companies followed these simple guide-lines, much heat would be taken out of labour and shareholder relations.

Yours faithfully,  
T. M. BARING,  
Westhay House,  
Hawthorn,  
Axminster,  
Devon.

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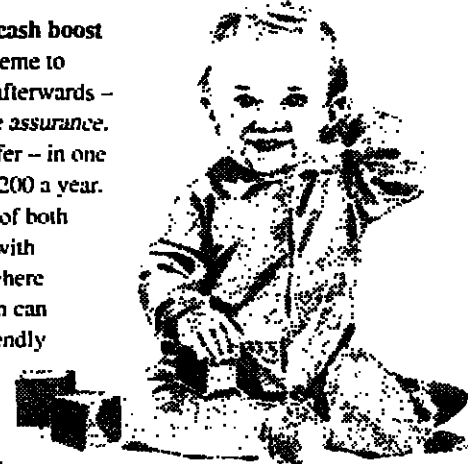
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## THE TIMES UNIT TRUST INFORMATION SERVICE

[illegible]

FT-SE 100 VOLUMES

Albany Nut		Cross Vase	554	Lyned Bk	2,500	Roy Bk Sect	668
Aldi-lyons	2,300	Cm Union	497	M'S Cardin	344	Sainsbury	698
Amberg	850	Courtside	1,000	MEPC	444	Sect & New	2,600
Anglo	1,500	ECC Gc	9,000	Maric Spr	4,700	Sect Power	3,600
Arif	3,000	ECC Gc	9,000	McGee	4,700	Sect Power	3,600
Asl Wagon	33	Euroam U	703	NFC	2,400	Swm Trant	4,700
BAA	1,800	Fisons	1,500	NawWa Bk	4,700	Shlch Ranz	4,600
BET Inds	1,500	Flora	2,000	Powr	4,700	Smk Bk	4,600
BOP	883	GUS A	545	Nix Hw W	556	Smk Bk	4,600
BRD	21,000	Gec Acc	767	P & O	1,300	Smith Nys	2,300
Bt of Scar	1,500	H&M	1,000	P & O	1,300	Smith (WH)	4,000
Cardays	4,000	Glasco	2,400	Pillington	2,100	T5B	3,100
Bas	743	Grc Emd	1,700	PowerGen	5,000	Taz & Lyle	4,100
Bass Circle	821	Guinness	2,300	PRAC	5,100	Tesco	4,100
Bos	4,000	Hanson	500	RMC	2,100	Thames W	4,100
Bowater	937	Hillalund	2,000	RTZ	1,000	Trn EMJ	911
Bt Aero	1,000	ICI	701	Rank Org	478	Tomkins	407
Bt Bk	2,400	Inchiquin	555	Redline Col	478	Unilever	1,800
Bt Gas	2,400	Jaguar	555	Redline Col	478	Unilever	1,800
Bt Steel	4,600	LASMO	2,800	Reed Intl	267	Vodafone	1,600
Bt Steel	2,400	Ladbroke	1,000	Remikil	1,000	Wellcome	776
Bt Steel	2,400	Lafarge	685	Renold	1,000	Wells	781
Cable Wire	900	Laport	707	Rols Royce	2,200	Willis Hill	781
Cable Wire	2,920	Levi's & Grn	497	Rothmans	316	Wilms Crr	979

## MAJOR INDICES

(y)	Brussels:	
\$282.30 (+13.19)	General 5740.03 (-10.79)	
403.78 (+2.29)	Paris CAC 531.39 (+3.49)	
6.36.37 (-123.34)	Zurich: SKA Gen - 476.9 (+1.2)	
	London:	
\$896.90 (-19.80)	FT A-All Share - 1148.96 (-6.51)	
\$155.59 (+10.99)	FT 500 1305.02 (-7.00)	
	FT Gold Mines 1174 (-0.7)	
125.7 (+1.0)	FT Fixed interest - 98.41 (-0.15)	
1576.7 (+10.9)	FT Govt Secs 85.18 (same)	
734.62 (-14.99)	Bargains 27183	
	SEAQ Volume 411.5M	
	USM (Dastrum) 130.02 (+0.02)	
<b>TRADITIONAL OPTIONS</b>		
Last Dealings	Last Declaration	For Settlement
April 10	July 20	July 20
Options out on 64/92: Alphacore, ASDA, Amstar, Bristol, Comox, Lonrho, Medway, Premier, Speyhawk, PHS Bluebird, Tor,		

**LONDON FINANCIAL**

	Period	Open	High	Low	Close	Volume
Jun 92	2415.0	2424.0	2411.0	2428.0	0	
Sep 92	2465.0	2465.0	2465.0	2463.0	0	
Dec 92	2487.0	2489.0	2486.0	2488.0	34970	
Mar 93	2491.0	2491.0	2491.0	2491.0	20091	
Jun 92	89.30	89.40	89.30	89.42	303	
Sep 92	95.44	95.65	95.62	95.65	236	
Dec 92	95.31	95.37	95.31	95.35	230	
Mar 93	90.34	90.40	90.34	90.39	8594	
Jun 92	90.57	90.68	90.55	90.67	15606	
Sep 92	99.25	99.29	99.24	99.25	285	
Dec 92	99.25	99.29	99.24	99.25	285	
Mar 93	93.15	93.25	93.04	93.15	2702	
Jun 92	101.41	101.45	101.38	101.43	646	
Sep 92	101.41	101.45	101.38	101.43	646	
Dec 92	87.38	87.54	87.28	87.31	9072	
Mar 93	87.90	88.32	88.21	88.25	9072	
Jun 92	90.82	90.90	90.82	90.90	34	
Sep 92	90.14	90.17	90.14	90.16	366	
Dec 92	91.53	91.67	91.52	91.61	586	
Mar 93	91.93	92.03	91.92	92.02	2884	
Jun 92	98.31	98.60	97.65	97.90	2084	
Sep 92	98.31	98.60	97.65	97.90	2084	

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April 6	Range	Close	1 month	3 months
	3,190.3-3,197	3,190.3-3,192	4-1/2%	1-1/2%
	58-26-42	56.26-37	7-3/4%	21-1/4
	10,970-11,010	10,971-11,019	4-1/2%	2-1/2%
	1,830-1,840	1,830-1,840	4-1/2%	4-1/2%
	2,834-2,847	2,835-2,830	4-1/2%	4-1/2%
	241.10-243.9	242.04-243.9	131-195d	366-611
	180.3-181.75	180.3-181.75	23-26%	5-1/2%
	2160.40-2167	2162.86-2165	4-1/2%	4-1/2%
	2,070-2,078	2,078-2,078	0.64-0.60%	3-27-2-22
	1,740-1,747	1,740-1,747	0.95-0.92%	2,86-3-10
	11,440-11,167	11,278-11,158	2-1/2%	1-1/2%
	10,160-10,165	9,985-10,011	4-1/2%	2-1/2%
	232.00-232.71	232.00-232.36	1-1/2%	3-3-34
	19,934-19,977	19,934-19,958	2-1/2%	8-1/2%
	2,979-2,975	2,965-2,967	1-1/2%	1-1/2%

**LONDON TRADED OPTIONS**

		Cuts					Pins							Cuts					Pins				
		Sept	Aug	Jul	Oct	Apr	Sept	Aug	Jul	Oct	Apr	Sept					Aug	Jul	Oct	Apr	May	Nov	Dec
ALB Lyon	550	35	46	63	4	19	25	19	25	19	25	BAA	550	24	38	54	17	29	35	25	35	25	
ASB	550	35	46	63	4	19	25	19	25	19	25	PC50	450	24	38	54	17	29	35	25	35	25	
ASDA	340	21	34	54	4	12	13	12	13	12	13	BAT Ind	350	24	38	54	17	29	35	25	35	25	
ASDA	340	21	34	54	4	12	13	12	13	12	13	PC53	450	24	38	54	17	29	35	25	35	25	
PC51	350	26	42	62	6	16	16	16	16	16	16	PC54	450	24	38	54	17	29	35	25	35	25	
PC52	350	26	42	62	6	16	16	16	16	16	16	PC55	450	24	38	54	17	29	35	25	35	25	
PC53	350	26	42	62	6	16	16	16	16	16	16	PC56	450	24	38	54	17	29	35	25	35	25	
PC54	350	26	42	62	6	16	16	16	16	16	16	PC57	450	24	38	54	17	29	35	25	35	25	
PC55	350	26	42	62	6	16	16	16	16	16	16	PC58	450	24	38	54	17	29	35	25	35	25	
PC56	350	26	42	62	6	16	16	16	16	16	16	PC59	450	24	38	54	17	29	35	25	35	25	
PC57	350	26	42	62	6	16	16	16	16	16	16	PC60	450	24	38	54	17	29	35	25	35	25	
PC58	350	26	42	62	6	16	16	16	16	16	16	PC61	450	24	38	54	17	29	35	25	35	25	
PC59	350	26	42	62	6	16	16	16	16	16	16	PC62	450	24	38	54	17	29	35	25	35	25	
PC60	350	26	42	62	6	16	16	16	16	16	16	PC63	450	24	38	54	17	29	35	25	35	25	
PC61	350	26	42	62	6	16	16	16	16	16	16	PC64	450	24	38	54	17	29	35	25	35	25	
PC62	350	26	42	62	6	16	16	16	16	16	16	PC65	450	24	38	54	17	29	35	25	35	25	
PC63	350	26	42	62	6	16	16	16	16	16	16	PC66	450	24	38	54	17	29	35	25	35	25	
PC64	350	26	42	62	6	16	16	16	16	16	16	PC67	450	24	38	54	17	29	35	25	35	25	
PC65	350	26	42	62	6	16	16	16	16	16	16	PC68	450	24	38	54	17	29	35	25	35	25	
PC66	350	26	42	62	6	16	16	16	16	16	16	PC69	450	24	38	54	17	29	35	25	35	25	
PC67	350	26	42	62	6	16	16	16	16	16	16	PC70	450	24	38	54	17	29	35	25	35	25	
PC68	350	26	42	62	6	16	16	16	16	16	16	PC71	450	24	38	54	17	29	35	25	35	25	
PC69	350	26	42	62	6	16	16	16	16	16	16	PC72	450	24	38	54	17	29	35	25	35	25	
PC70	350	26	42	62	6	16	16	16	16	16	16	PC73	450	24	38	54	17	29	35	25	35	25	
PC71	350	26	42	62	6	16	16	16	16	16	16	PC74	450	24	38	54	17	29	35	25	35	25	
PC72	350	26	42	62	6	16	16	16	16	16	16	PC75	450	24	38	54	17	29	35	25	35	25	
PC73	350	26	42	62	6	16	16	16	16	16	16	PC76	450	24	38	54	17	29	35	25	35	25	
PC74	350	26	42	62	6	16	16	16	16	16	16	PC77	450	24	38	54	17	29	35	25	35	25	
PC75	350	26	42	62	6	16	16	16	16	16	16	PC78	450	24	38	54	17	29	35	25	35	25	
PC76	350	26	42	62	6	16	16	16	16	16	16	PC79	450	24	38	54	17	29	35	25	35	25	
PC77	350	26	42	62	6	16	16	16	16	16	16	PC80	450	24	38	54	17	29	35	25	35	25	
PC78	350	26	42	62	6	16	16	16	16	16	16	PC81	450	24	38	54	17	29	35	25	35	25	
PC79	350	26	42	62	6	16	16	16	16	16	16	PC82	450	24	38	54	17	29	35	25	35	25	
PC80	350	26	42	62	6	16	16	16	16	16	16	PC83	450	24	38	54	17	29	35	25	35	25	
PC81	350	26	42	62	6	16	16	16	16	16	16	PC84	450	24	38	54	17	29	35	25	35	25	
PC82	350	26	42	62	6	16	16	16	16	16	16	PC85	450	24	38	54	17	29	35	25	35	25	
PC83	350	26	42	62	6	16	16	16	16	16	16	PC86	450	24	38	54	17	29	35	25	35	25	
PC84	350	26	42	62	6	16	16	16	16	16	16	PC87	450	24	38	54	17	29	35	25	35	25	
PC85	350	26	42	62	6	16	16	16	16	16	16	PC88	450	24	38	54	17	29	35	25	35	25	
PC86	350	26	42	62	6	16	16	16	16	16	16	PC89	450	24	38	54	17	29	35	25	35	25	
PC87	350	26	42	62	6	16	16	16	16	16	16	PC90	450	24	38	54	17	29	35	25	35	25	
PC88	350	26	42	62	6	16	16	16	16	16	16	PC91	450	24	38	54	17	29	35	25	35	25	
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PC90	350	26	42	62	6	16	16	16	16	16	16	PC93	450	24	38	54	17	29	35	25	35	25	
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PC95	350	26	42	62	6	16	16	16	16	16	16	PC98	450	24	38	54	17	29	35	25	35	25	
PC96	350	26	42	62	6	16	16	16	16	16	16	PC99	450	24	38	54	17	29	35	25	35	25	
PC97	350	26	42	62	6	16	16	16	16	16	16	PC100	450	24	38	54	17	29	35	25	35	25	
PC98	350	26	42	62	6	16	16	16	16	16	16	PC101	450	24	38	54	17	29	35	25	35	25	
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PC100	350	26	42	62	6	16	16	16	16	16	16	PC103	450	24	38	54	17	29	35	25	35	25	
PC101	350	26	42	62	6	16	16	16	16	16	16	PC104	450	24	38	54	17	29	35	25	35	25	
PC102	350	26	42	62	6	16	16	16	16	16	16	PC105	450	24	38	54	17	29	35	25	35	25	
PC103	350	26	42	62	6	16	16	16	16	16	16	PC106	450	24	38	54	17	29	35	25	35	25	
PC104	350	26	42	62	6	16	16	16	16	16	16	PC107	450	24	38	54	17	29	35	25	35	25	
PC105	350	26	42	62	6	16	16	16	16	16	16	PC108	450	24	38	54	17	29	35	25	35	25	
PC106	350	26	42	62	6	16	16	16	16	16	16	PC109	450	24	38	54	17	29	35	25	35	25	
PC107	350	26	42	62	6	16	16	16	16	16	16	PC110	450	24	38	54	17	29	35	25	35	25	
PC108	350	26	42	62	6	16	16	16	16	16	16	PC111	450	24	38	54	17	29	35	25	35	25	
PC109	350	26	42	62	6	16	16	16	16	16	16	PC112	450	24	38	54	17	29	35	25	35	25	
PC110	350	26	42	62	6	16	16	16	16	16	16	PC113	450	24	38	54	17	29	35	25	35	25	
PC111	350	26	42	62	6	16	16	16	16	16	16	PC114	450	24	38	54	17	29	35	25	35	25	
PC112	350	26	42	62	6	16	16	16	16	16	16	PC115	450	24	38	54	17	29	35	25	35	25	
PC113	350	26	42	62	6	16	16	16	16	16	16	PC116	450	24	38	54	17	29	35	25	35	25	
PC114	350	26	42	62	6	16	16	16	16	16	16	PC117	450	24	38	54	17	29	35	25	35	25	
PC115	350	26	42	62	6	16	16	16	16	16	16	PC118	450	24	38	54	17	29	35	25	35	25	
PC116	350	26	42	62	6	16	16	16	16	16	16	PC119	450	24	38	54	17	29	35	25	35	25	
PC117	350	26	42	62	6	16	16	16	16	16	16	PC120	450	24	38	54	17	29	35	25	35	25	
PC118	350	26	42	62	6	16	16	16	16	16	16	PC121	450	24	38	54	17	29	35	25	35	25	
PC119	350	26	42	62	6	16	16	16	16														

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Cattle		Pigs		Sheep		Goats	
Dec	Jan	Dec	Jan	Dec	Jan	Dec	Jan
25	23	7	11	12	10	10	10
26	24	8	12	13	11	11	11
27	25	9	13	14	12	12	12
28	26	10	14	15	13	13	13
29	27	11	15	16	14	14	14
30	28	12	16	17	15	15	15
31	29	13	17	18	16	16	16
1	30	14	18	19	17	17	17
2	31	15	19	20	18	18	18
3	32	16	20	21	19	19	19
4	33	17	21	22	20	20	20
5	34	18	22	23	21	21	21
6	35	19	23	24	22	22	22
7	36	20	24	25	23	23	23
8	37	21	25	26	24	24	24
9	38	22	26	27	25	25	25
10	39	23	27	28	26	26	26
11	40	24	28	29	27	27	27
12	41	25	29	30	28	28	28
13	42	26	30	31	29	29	29
14	43	27	31	1	30	30	30
15	44	28	32	2	31	31	31
16	45	29	33	3	32	32	32
17	46	30	34	4	33	33	33
18	47	31	35	5	34	34	34
19	48	32	36	6	35	35	35
20	49	33	37	7	36	36	36
21	50	34	38	8	37	37	37
22	51	35	39	9	38	38	38
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24	53	37	41	11	40	40	40
25	54	38	42	12	41	41	41
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1	61	45	49	7	48	48	48
2	62	46	50	8	49	49	49
3	63	47	51	9	50	50	50
4	64	48	52	10	51	51	51
5	65	49	53	11	52	52	52
6	66	50	54	12	53	53	53
7	67	51	55	1	54	54	54
8	68	52	56	2	55	55	55
9	69	53	57	3	56	56	56
10	70	54	58	4	57	57	57
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17	77	61	65	11	64	64	64
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20	80	64	68	2	67	67	67
21	81	65	69	3	68	68	68
22	82	66	70	4	69	69	69
23	83	67	71	5	70	70	70
24	84	68	72	6	71	71	71
25	85	69	73	7	72	72	72
26	86	70	74	8	73	73	73
27	87	71	75	9	74	74	74
28	88	72	76	10	75	75	75
29	89	73	77	11	76	76	76
30	90	74	78	12	77	77	77
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3	94	78	82	4	81	81	81
4	95	79	83	5	82	82	82
5	96	80	84	6	83	83	83
6	97	81	85	7	84	84	84
7	98	82	86	8	85	85	85
8	99	83	87	9	86	86	86
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1	123	107	111	9	110	110	110
2	124	108	112	10	111	111	111
3	125	109	113	11	112	112	112
4	126	110	114	12	113	113	113
5	127	111	115	1	114	114	114
6	128	112	116	2	115	115	115
7	129	113	117	3	116	116	116
8	130	114	118	4	117	117	117
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11	133	117	121	7	120	120	120
12	134	118	122	8	121	121	121
13	135	119	123	9	122	122	122
14	136	120	124	10	123	123	123
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16	138	122	126	12	125	125	125
17	139	123	127	1	126	126	126
18	140	124	128	2	127	127	127
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16	169	153	157	7	156	156	156
17	170	154	158	8	157	157	157
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22	175	159	163	1	162	162	162
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16	200	184	188	2	187	187	187
17	201	185	189	3	188	188	188
18	202	186	190	4	189	189	189
19	203	187	191	5	190	190	190
20	204	188	192	6	191	191	191
21	205	189	193	7	192	192	192
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2	217	201	205	7	204	204	204
3	218	202	206	8	205	205	205
4	219	203	207	9	206	206	206
5							

## MODITIES

[illegible]

1.7310-1.7338	Australia	1.3089-1.30
2.2892-2.2921	Austria	11.41-11.
0.653-0.661	Belgium (Com)	33.37-33.

[illegible]







# WHICH COMPUTER

## Help! We need some buyers

Matthew May observes how the recession is making computer companies attentive to the market

**R**ecession is doing strange things to the computer industry. Visitors to this week's Which Computer show, for example, may be accosted by an IBM salesperson wearing a badge with the motif, "Can I Help You?"

This is part of a new resolve by IBM, whose sales of personal computers have been battered by competitors, that it is going to be helpful. Never a company to do things by halves, IBM will use the show today to announce "Helpware", a campaign including television advertisements to the strains of the relevant Beatles song, help finance, help trade-in, help telephone hotline and even a quarterly magazine called *Help*.

"No matter when you need help—whether on Christmas Day or 3am on a Sunday—someone who speaks your language, not baffling computer jargon, will be there to listen and help," says a pilot issue of the magazine.

Features in future issues will be colour-coded according to difficulty, ranging from green (easy) to blue (medium) and black (hard). Articles such as "Would Arnold Schwarzenegger be half the man without computer graphics?" and "Master your own hit single in one hour" are promised.

Like others, IBM has decided to target the consumer market, though for the world's largest computer company this is a term "that includes small businesses with up to ten personal computer users," says Howard Ford, the personal systems director.

IBM has realised that its former attitude, which may be kindly described as being somewhat aloof, may not work with those wanting to master a hit single in one hour. The campaign, which will include the metamorphosis of the company's PS/1 range into something called the Easy PC, available next month and starting at about £1,000, explains IBM's first appearance at the show for many years.

The personal computer in-

dusty keeps producing ever more powerful machines faster than customers, certainly at the smaller end of the market, can find affordable uses for it. Makers hope that two technologies may take off in the home—multimedia, which mixes video, sound and graphics, and virtual reality, which promises graphics and action as never before for both games and education.

Both would require customers to buy machines, whatever physical form they eventually take, with considerable processing power.

The importance of the consumer, rather than the corporate market, also features in the latest of another of the industry's trends—alliances. Apple Computer and Sharp intend to develop pocket devices that mix the power of personal computers with consumer electronics such as compact discs.

Barely a day has passed recently without the announcement of a new alliance. These collaborations are being seen as one way to reduce the risks of operating in a recession. An Ernst & Young survey found that in the United States nine out of ten electronics companies have formed links with others in the field, while moving from emphasising innovation to providing better customer service.

The worst of the recession may be over for the industry. Many computer companies are already hinting that their financial results for the first three months of this year are better than last year's, though still not back to 1989 and 1990 levels.

Some believe almost boom conditions will return and are willing to invest. One sign is the advent of a British arm of the American publishing house Ziff-Davis, which has invested heavily in the launch of two large magazines, *PC Direct* and *PC Magazine*, that each have April issues of nearly 500 pages.

"The personal computer market is poised to explode," says a statement from PC



Magazine. "Between now and 1995 a further 8.8 million units are expected to be installed in Britain virtually tripling the installed base."

Another glimmer of hope is that demand for semiconductors in the US, the first indication of plans to increase the production of the units that use them, rose 5 per cent in February.

The overall trend has been somewhat cautiously positive," says Mark Giudici, an analyst for the research consultancy Dataquest. Orders should continue to increase in coming months, he says, as stocks are at record lows and a host of new product announcements are expected.

Recession has been good for the customer, however. Manu-

facturers and dealers have been selling personal computers and related equipment at knockdown prices.

Price cuts are slowing and there has been a lull for several weeks. This may mean that the worst, or best, depending on which side of the fence you are on, is over.

If prices are now low enough and economic indicators promising enough to bring back the business customer, manufacturers and software developers need to turn their attention to sorting out their own battles over where the industry is heading.

Attention at the show today will be on the fight between two new software systems that

between them are likely to be running on tens of millions of the world's personal computers during the next few years.

Both IBM's OS/2 version 2, announced last week, and Microsoft's Windows 3.1, officially announced in the US yesterday, are emphasising their ease of use by giving customers the ability to manipulate icons on screen with a mouse rather than typing in commands, as well as many other claimed improvements.

IBM again surprised the industry by producing a briefing document on the new operating system well before the official announcement. The move is highly unusual for a company noted for "refusing to speculate on future products". Even more

surprisingly, the announcement explained everything, from what an operating system is to admitting to the huge success of Windows.

"Constant bombardment with information on new chips and standards means that the majority of corporate buyers are uncertain what their next step should be," says a Comshare Business Machines survey of 2,000 potential business purchasers. "British companies still want expert guidance through the confusion of present-day developments in personal computers."

Perhaps IBM has got it right after all.

● The Which Computer show is at the National Exhibition Centre, Birmingham, from today until Friday

## High prices are out of fashion as quality improves

**S**ome suppliers take a value-like interest in your computer—quick to call it dead. They blind the glibly with science, rattling on about the latest breed of computer. Then they promise your business a recipe for success if only you will buy their machine. Ignore the hype. Buy what you need, not what the dealer thinks you should have—after all, the choice has never been better.

The industry has provided more and more powerful systems based on the Intel chips and moving through the 286 and 386 to 486. Faster RISC-based processors are on the way. Machines with increasing performance have given many buyers an opportunity for bargains as never before. Fierce competition among manufacturers is ensuring the continuation of a technology race that produces better value for buyers and slimmer margins for the industry.

"Price does not equal quality any more," says Jeremy Davies, a partner at the information consultancy Context. "The personal computer buyer is no longer prepared to pay premium prices for a premium product."

There are signs that many customers are finding medium-power personal computers adequate for their needs, despite the eagerness of the main software houses to release packages demanding ever more powerful machines, more storage and larger amounts of memory.

"The computer industry has tried to cajole users into buying more power for the same price," says the market researcher Derek Pedder. "But a number of people have decided to stay put with the same and pay less for it."

Since the last market slump seven years ago, there has been a dramatic switch in information technology expenditure from mainframes and minicomputers to personal computers. At IBM, the world's largest computer manufacturer and still the market leader in personal computers, there is little difference between revenues from main-

frames and from personal computers.

Mainframe computer systems have been under pressure from smaller, distributed systems for some time. They are always the first to suffer in any recession because of the large capital outlay involved. A clearly defined band of customers will always demand the highest possible computational power, and mainframes have become more at home in their new role as hubs in the large networks that many organisations now use.

As a result, personal computers have rapidly been replacing traditional computer terminals in mainframe-based computer systems, and are now used instead of minicomputers for departmental and office applications.

Although there is great potential for more workplace computing, the business microcomputer market has become cut-throat.

**C**ompetition and margin-squeezing, particularly between the direct mail and more conventional suppliers, is more intense than in any other part of the market and has caused the demise of many dealers in recent months. "Get big, get niche, or get out is how many observers are pigeon-holing the dealer market at the moment," says Jon Whitley, the publications manager at the market research company Romtec.

In the corporate personal computer market, quality is remembered long after the price has been forgotten. Unfortunately, some dealers have acquired reputations for poor service. There are signs, however, that this is changing as dealers are moving upmarket. Their future lies in selling systems, not single personal computers.

To survive, many dealers must be large enough to supply in volume and at an attractive discount, choose a specialised market and build up expertise. They must also realise they are supplying a public who are now experienced in computing.

CLIVE COULDWELL

'Downsizing' is transferring a great deal of work from mainframes to personal computers, with a few snags

## When small is the only way to go

ONE of the few apparent certainties in the fast-changing world of computers is that processing power will continue to get cheaper.

During the past five years, processor prices have fallen at an annual rate of nearly 40 per cent, says Dataquest, the market research company. In 1987, a machine capable of handling a million instructions per second would have cost at least \$15,000 (£8,600). Today, a desktop PC with twice that performance costs

\$2,000 (£1,150). Powerful low-cost machines save customers money and make possible huge organisational changes—a process known as "downsizing".

In this way users are freed from the control of a data processing department. They have fingertip control of their programs and data on desktop PCs instead of having to give their tasks to the mainframe boffins.

This has been the experience of Tony Haddock, the predictive engineering manager of Perkins Technology, a subsidiary of the engine manufacturing group, which performs consultancy services for the automotive industry.

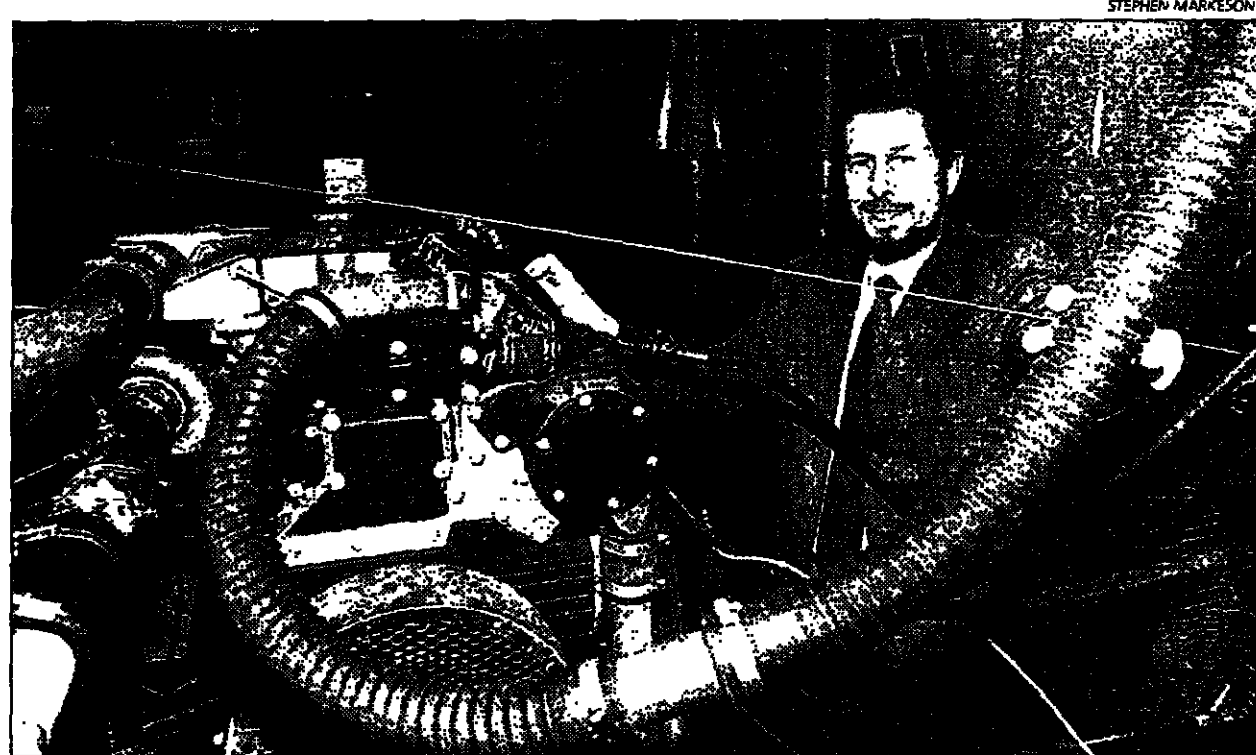
Mr Haddock's team previously used the Perkins corporate IBM mainframe to run its engine simulation and design analysis programs. These are complex calculations for solid modelling and analysis of stress, temperature, flow, performance, noise and vibration. Even a mainframe can spend hours, sometimes days, on such tasks. Mr Haddock's team frequently had to work through nights and weekends to complete their work.

Two years ago Mr Haddock's patience cracked. He says: "The memory requirements for the size of theoretical models we generate had increased to the point where it was no longer cost-effective to continue to use the mainframe on which we were allocated only 40 megabytes of memory. We needed a solution to get us near-instant response."

Mr Haddock bought five workstations and transferred the applications from the mainframe. Though smaller and cheaper, the workstations were much better at fluid dynamics and finite element analyses and improved productivity sharply.

The workstations enabled the engineers to concentrate on the job in hand, instead of splitting tasks while waiting for computer runs.

Mr Haddock was so impressed that he bought ten more workstations at the end



Satisfied customer: Tony Haddock lost patience with the mainframe. Now his team's work is done on workstations

of last year, giving the department 500 megabytes of processor memory, far more than had ever been available on the mainframe. In addition, financing the workstations is estimated at about 20 per cent of the internal charge for using the mainframe.

Chris Ogg at Parcline carried out a downsizing operation to save money, but gained the surprise bonus of a radical improvement in disaster recovery. He says: "By distributing the system, we have almost been able to stop worrying about what happens if something goes wrong. Of course, it matters if one department comes to a standstill, but we have still got 30 locations operational."

For management one of the dangers of downsizing is loss of control. Go-ahead companies realise they need to devolve responsibility to individuals at the coal face, and downsizing provides an ideal opportunity to do this.

Once staff have machines at their fingertips, it becomes difficult to prevent them from experimenting with new software programs or building their own databases, which may be incompatible with the rest of the organisation. Within a short time the order and continuity imposed by many years of centralised data processing control can degenerate into chaos.

Another problem is that downsizing does not always save money, even when combined with a move to open systems. Downsizing is widely regarded as cutting costs by an average 30 per cent, but this was not the finding of a survey that looked at systems with between 20 and 200 users. The study found that a 160-user proprietary system costs about £660,000 over five years. Eight 20-user open systems add up to about £640,000. These figures exclude software support, where a centralised system appears to be marginally cheaper.

Roger Stenson, of Norwich Union, says that although users might save on mainframe costs they could pay more for peripherals such as disc drives, and that the inevitable result of cheap prices can be the loss of service. This may be unacceptable to many users who need hand-holding through the complex process of installing computers. "Commodity prices will not prevail," Mr Stenson says. "Some suppliers will win business with service."

The advantages of downsizing depend on an organisation's structures and whether its computing applications can be easily distributed. Mr Stenson believes it would not work for Norwich Union, where computer files contain billions of records.

"I have not found a way of breaking up the data. I cannot imagine how I would distribute that amount of data over anything currently available on the computer market," he says. It is rather like comparing the transporting capabilities of a Mini, a small van and a juggernaut. Although you

could fit lots of Mini loads into a juggernaut, you could not necessarily distribute the contents of a juggernaut in a cavalcade of Minis.

The mainframe may be on the way out, but it is certainly not dead yet.

JANE BIRD

## Computer system on a go-slow...?

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# The go-anywhere aid

When the eye surgeon Stephen Bailey cycles between consultations at a London hospital and his private practice, his portable computer goes with him in a pannier on the rear wheel. Mr Bailey uses the machine to analyse information from his clinical studies. The text-processing and graphics are invaluable in preparing his lectures on ocular disease. The machine, an Apple Powerbook, enables him to work on complex illustrations on the move and convert them to colour 35mm film via his desktop Macintosh at home.

"Instead of cramming all my computing into evenings or weekends, I can put in an extra two to three hours a day by making use of spare time between patients or during the lunch hour," he says.

This year, he was in a road accident, the pannier and a lorry reversed over his computer. Mr Bailey had come to regard the machine as indispensable, so he immediately bought a new and more powerful one and secured his pannier more tightly.

Mr Bailey's portable is of the class known as "electronic notebooks", so called because they are roughly the size and weight of an A4 pad. Notebooks are the fastest-growing segment of the portable computer market.

Analysts expect that by 1994 they will account for three-quarters of portables sold in Europe, about six million machines. The battle between the manufacturers is all the more ferocious because research suggests that users have more influence in choosing their portables than their desktop personal computers.

Mobile professionals are an important market, although the largest number of sales has gone to financial institutions. Insurance salesmen use portables in customers' homes to give instant policy premium figures and maturity values.

The technology, nevertheless, still has drawbacks, the biggest being short battery life. Most notebooks have a practical limit of about three hours' use between recharging, so the batteries could run out on a long train or aircraft journey. Mr Bailey's solution is to carry

Jane Bird meets a busy surgeon, whose computer rides with him through the streets of London



On the road: Stephen Bailey packs away his computer

a spare battery. If possible, he takes the power lead, too.

One answer to the battery problem is a smaller computer. There are now many "palmtops", priced from £200, which fit comfortably in a pocket or a handbag and use less power because they use credit-card-sized memory chips instead of floppy discs. More power is saved by not backlighting the screens.

British companies that have pioneered palmtops include Sinclair, Psion and Agenda. One of the most successful is DIP, of Guildford, Surrey, which designed the Atari Portfolio, Pocket PC, and the PC 3000 for Sharp of Japan.

Oliver Tucker, DIP's sales

director, describes the Sharp machine as the "first no-compromise hand-held".

He says: "People say that for the money they could get a 286 notebook with a 20-megabyte hard disc, but this is rubbish. It is like comparing a Porsche with a Mini. If you were driving to Scotland, you might take the powerful car, but for a brief trip to the shops the Mini would be better. With notebooks the maximum memory life you get is three hours. The Sharp gives you 40 hours on three AA batteries."

DIP bases its designs on the observation that people use 10 per cent of the functions 90 per cent of the time.

"When you go out, you need

not take your database of 2,000 contacts, just the 200 you call most frequently," Mr Tucker says. He believes the machine's small size is an advantage. "Four or five pounds might not seem much, but it gets very heavy if you are carrying it around the world," he says.

The other main limitations of portables are the high cost or poor quality of colour screens. Cheap colour is slow and fuzzy, and for good results you really need active matrix thin film transistor. Manufacturing difficulties with this technology are keeping the cost at about £6,000. Unless you are working on presentations or computer-aided design, it is probably not worth investing in colour at present.

One of the most ingenious ideas in portable computing is the "docking" system. This enables a conventional notebook computer to be inserted into a desktop expansion base like a cassette into a VCR. The notebook then becomes the brains of the desktop machine, but allows the user to operate with full-sized screen, keyboard and mouse.

This approach saves space and money because the user does not have to invest in two processing units. Time is saved because the communications between portable and desktop systems are simplified. Most users, on returning to their offices, have the tedious task of plugging cables into sockets and running a communications program, or transferring data on floppies to update central files.

Security is another drawback. Portables are easy to steal, as an army officer found when he left Gulf war plans in a portable computer in his car boot. In trains and aircraft another passenger can peer over your shoulder. Compaq has incorporated a quick-lock quick-blank facility so that you can wipe the screen.

Portables are, however, still a compromise. They have not caught up with desktops in versatility. Mr Bailey sees a role for both. He says: "I would not use the portable as my only machine because ergonomically it is too restricted, but it complements the desktop machine."

Alliances have been set up for the benefit of users but many have doubts

## Who are the winners from cooperation?

One of the fastest-growing sectors in an otherwise stagnant computer industry is the cross-company alliance. Driven by falling sales, the high cost of research and development and intense competitive pressure, companies that were once deadly rivals are joining hands to exploit their expertise and resources.

Officially the aim is not only to achieve joint development and minimise costs but also to indicate to customers what the future holds and to establish a standard around which products will be built.

The attempts to establish standards, however, often conflict and are dictated more by fitting in with the existing products and direction of the participating companies than by agreement.

Unix International and the Open Software Foundation (OSF) were formed in 1988 to promote a standard for the Unix operating system. The former was backed by AT&T, the owner of Unix, Sun Microsystems and several software companies. The OSF had the support of IBM, Digital Equipment, Hewlett-Packard and other hardware heavyweights. The two, however, espoused different standards and a wide gulf still separates them.

Some people believe that, far from promoting a standard to benefit the customer, such alliances actually impede technological progress. Peter Gottlieb, the chairman of Uniform UK, a users' group for Unix customers says: "The effect of such alliances is the slowing-down of the arrival of technology and with it cheaper prices and better performance for customers. That keeps the manufacturers' proprietary systems selling. Users face a very difficult business environment and they cannot wait for the computer industry to tell them what to do."

A third coalition, Advanced Computing Environment (ACE) has emerged from the OSF with the intention of creating a standard Unix environment for the desktop with the support of such companies as Compaq, Digital Equipment and Olivetti.

However, Lance Allen, Olivetti's marketing manager, says: "There is a big advantage to the customer if a group of suppliers gets together to define a standard. It is a way of establishing the standard more quickly than by letting one emerge."

Mr Gottlieb replies: "It is companies not consortia that set standards." He cites Novell in the networking market, Microsoft in the PC operating systems market and Sun in the Unix marketing as companies that have introduced products defining the standards.

Mr Gottlieb's views are broadly shared by Apple Computer, itself a member of both Unix International and the OSF, though not of the ACE consortium.

Steve Everhard, an Apple marketing manager, says: "ACE can be seen as a stalling tactic by the manufacturers because it cannot produce a product quickly and customers will delay purchasing. Effectively, it is holding the market at the current level."

Apple has allied itself with IBM to develop a new operating system for the desktop. The companies have formed a joint company with initial funding of \$2 billion (£1.16 billion) to develop the operating system based around object-oriented technology.

An important difference between the IBM-Apple alliance and the consortia is that the two companies have put a definite time scale on delivery of their products.

The IBM-Apple alliance has already started to deliver some products to connect equipment more easily but the operating system is not planned for delivery until



Steve Everhard at Apple: looking forward to 1995

1995, Mr Everhard says. The purpose of the self-styled standards-making bodies, including OSF, Unix International and others that have sprung up as a result of cross-company pacts, is to ensure that the introduction of technology proceeds in an orderly way, allowing customers to plan for

the future. There is a strong feeling, however, that some of the alliances slow the introduction of new standards and technologies and have also been used by their members as an additional marketing arm of the suppliers.

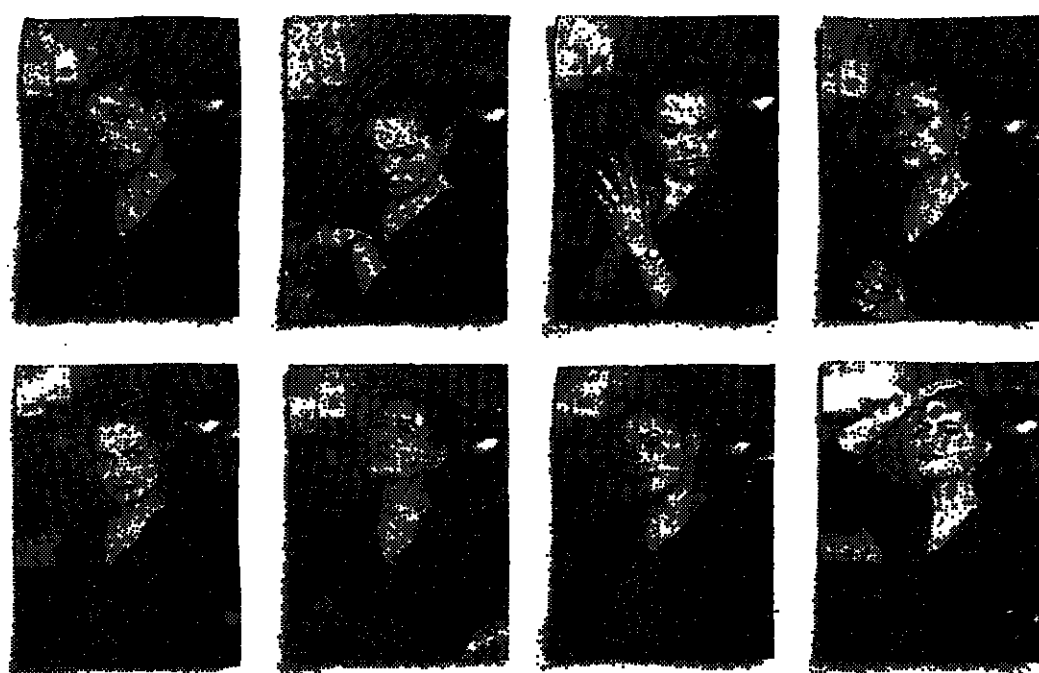
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# Taking care to keep on running

Geof Wheelwright considers the best arrangements for after-sales care

Personal computer manufacturers are beginning to realise that they may have missed a crucial step in making their products "user-friendly". Although the increased use of picture-based software has generally made PCs simpler to operate, the same does not hold true for maintaining and repairing.

Whom do you call when your computer packs up? How much should you be expected to pay? Until recently, the only answer was to pay for an extended service contract or to take the machine to your dealer.

Service contracts, however, can be expensive. Some manufacturers have responded by offering longer warranty periods. Tandon, in Redditch, Worcestershire, for example, recently began advertising a three-year warranty on some models, including a portable. Portable computers can bring their own problems — although they are rugged, they are more likely to be damaged because they are frequently moved.

Compaq Computer offers its users a "worldwide warranty identification card" which should allow them to get immediate service on their systems in 66 countries. Its arch-competitor, Dell, has also made a great play of its worldwide service facilities for portable computer users.

Of course, you get what you pay for and those selling the dealer brands will often tell you that you are paying the extra money for better service. Even long-established companies that had until recently been able to trade on their name alone are now having to look at improving service.

IBM, for example, recently established a hotline service in the United States to serve direct sales customers better, while Compaq has beefed up



Getting it right: Gero Orlando, an Amstrad design engineer, works on a hard disc drive assembly

its hotline and service systems in Britain. Compaq has also announced an authorisation scheme for those wishing to provide contract support services. They will be required to offer 24-hour, on-site maintenance within four hours of a call, and maintain a customer support hotline.

The real point about maintenance contracts, however, may be whether you need them at all. Old-style maintenance contracts, where you pay a fee based on a percentage of your computer's total worth, are becoming a little meaningless. If, for example, you paid £4,000 for a computer based on the 386 chip four years ago you may have a maintenance contract costing 10 per cent of the value of that system per year after the original one-year warranty expires. By now you would have spent £1,200 in maintenance fees, yet the resale value would be less than

£1,000 and a smart PC shopper could find a similar new system for less than £1,000.

The real value of many PCs lies in the data they hold — recreating it could cost far more than replacing the computer. In most cases, the money spent on an expensive maintenance contract would be far better spent on buying a good backup system to make regular "security" copies of data.

## Leaders go into battle

This is the age of software but makers disagree on standards

If the 1980s were the decade when personal computer hardware took hold of many working lives, the 1990s are fast becoming the decade of software, writes Geof Wheelwright. In particular, this is the decade of the "operating system", the layer of special software that turns users' commands into something it can understand.

Often that operating system is now based on using pictures to issue commands. To see the contents of a floppy disc, you use a "mouse" to point at a floppy disc picture on screen. To print a document, you take a picture representing the document and "drag" it across the screen to a picture representing the printer.

Computer makers, however, do not agree on which standard for operating systems will prevail. The industry leaders, IBM, Microsoft and Apple, all have different operating systems to accomplish much the same task and there will be no peace in the computer industry until one of them comes out the winner. Many thought the issue had been largely resolved ten years ago when IBM and Microsoft combined to produce PC-DOS. However, the operating system debate recently reopened.

IBM is now backing its proprietary OS/2 picture-based system. A second version was recently announced, Microsoft, IBM's former ally, wants everybody to use its hugely successful Windows 3 system and a soon-to-be announced special edition of that operating environment known as Windows NT.

Apple Computer continues to plough a lone furrow with System 7, a new operating system for the Apple Macintosh computer. To confuse matters further, Unix, the avowed choice of those selling

"graphics workstations", is fast coming up as a competitor with graphical versions.

Even within Unix, supposedly based on the same standards, there is incompatibility. Steve Jobs, Apple's co-founder and former chairman, has produced an impressive operating system with his present company, Next. There could even be more choice as former arch-rivals IBM and Apple have decided to work together on the Power PC.

IBM's long-awaited OS/2 2.0 was announced last month, but there is no sign that it will be more successful than previous versions of IBM's "alternative" PC operating system. IBM's systems will run all the main applications based on PC-DOS but also Windows 3.0 applications without modification. IBM has gained support from key applications software and system software developers, including Lotus, Borland and Novell.

### What is more significant is the operating system that is required

Even if the claims are true, it would be a great deal to slow the Windows 3 bandwagon. More than nine million copies have been sold and a new version, 3.1, has been available since yesterday.

There are smaller skirmishes which British technology may win. London-based Psion, for example, has been successful in selling hand-held portable computers and during the past couple of years has developed an innovative proprietary operating system for a computer that fits in the palm of your hand. This computer, known as the Psion Series 3, allows users to start up programs just by pointing at pictures and then control them with "pull-down menus".

## Software will be the key to workstations

The battle for business may already be won on operating systems

Traditional personal computer manufacturers and companies making powerful workstations are both claiming that their products will be the controlling feature of the next generation of desktop computing.

Analysts say that for current business use there is no contest, pointing to the multitude of IBM and compatible personal computers available that are based around the Intel chip and which run the MS-DOS and Windows operating system.



Competition: John Coon

At the moment the market for workstations that offer high-resolution graphics and hefty processing power is still largely confined to the technical and scientific areas for which they were originally designed.

The research company IDC says that last year about 1.5 million IBM-compatible personal computers were sold, compared with 83,000 workstations. Even this latter figure is too high, argues the IDC analyst Simon Pearce, as 60,000 of these were Acorn systems sold for educational purposes.

There is a further worrying factor for workstation manufacturers. For the first time, the average amount spent on personal computers dropped last year — from £1,750 to £1,450.

Although the falling costs of hardware and the recession may account for some of the drop, Mr Pearce believes that the demand for more powerful and more expensive machines has fallen because users have reached the level of technology required to run their business.

Only a year ago, the workstation suppliers were predicting that the battle for the hearts, minds and wallets of customers would start in 1992. Today, suppliers of both workstations and personal computers believe that fight has been postponed.

"What is becoming more significant is the operating system that any application requires," says John Coon, the product marketing manager of Sun Microsystems. "If you have an MS-DOS application running eight hours a day,

then you should undoubtedly buy a personal computer. The real competition will come when new operating systems for personal computers try to take on some of the more sophisticated characteristics that workstations with Unix already offer."

One supplier that foresees a growth of the workstation market was Tandon. The company realised that its own products could not meet the demand, so it allied itself with Solbourne, a rival workstation supplier to Sun Microsystems, in an attempt to offer products that straddled both camps.

That alliance, under which Tandon would sell Solbourne workstations with some minor modifications, has ended after only six months.

Both sides in the argument agree that the issue of hardware is no longer an important selling point and that what matters is which operating system the machines will use.

However, debates about the future of operating systems do not impress the desktop user, apart from the technically minded. What may decide the issue of workstation versus personal computer is which system can offer a business most compatibility with the use of existing software. At the moment, that puts the personal computer in a commanding position.

SEAN HALLAHAN

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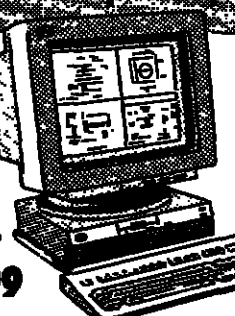
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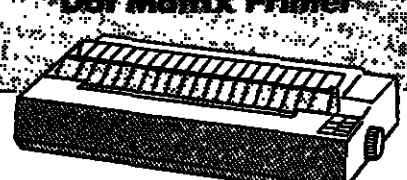
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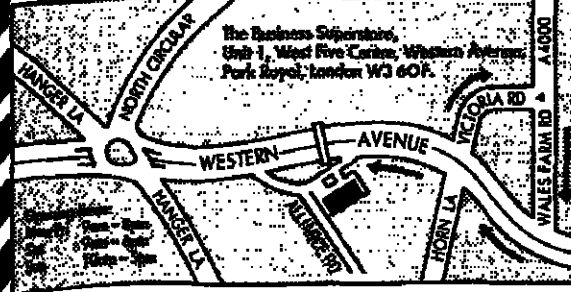
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Our job as recruitment consultants is to present candidates to employers in a clear and favourable light, making sure that their strong points are in full view. To achieve this, we often review with our candidates their career situation, assessing their various strengths. A client-follower, for example, is always difficult to assess, and candidates tend to prefer an under- rather than over-estimate. Such scruples, however, can be overcome. Candidates' followings may well be more substantial than they think. Last month we interviewed an assistant solicitor with a large commercial firm in the North of England who had been made redundant. She had built up close contacts with one of the firm's largest clients, but felt unsure whether they would continue to instruct her after she left. It is never easy to persuade an established client to leave an established firm. However, having decided to raise the matter with the clients she found they were relying on her more than she realised. They were put out to learn she was leaving, and told her they wanted their work to go with her - provided, of course, that she moved to a firm of good standing. Many candidates, being naturally modest about their following, can benefit from some objective encouragement. They come to see that a client's confidence in their firm is also matched by the client's growing loyalty to themselves. Michael Chambers

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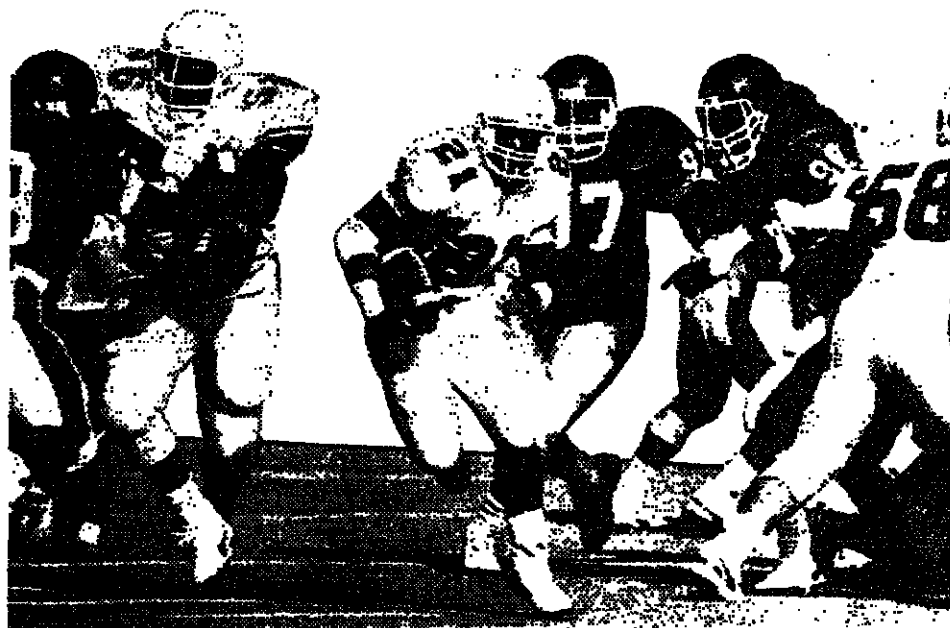
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Please quote post no. H0280.

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Closing date: 27th April 1992.



## Assessing value of shares

Smith New Court Securities Ltd v Scrimgeour Vickers (Asset Management) Ltd and Another

Before Mr Justice Chadwick [Judgment March 25]

In assessing damages for a purchase of shares induced by a fraudulent misrepresentation, the measure to be adopted was the difference between the purchase price and their actual value.

In assessing that value the market price was of no assistance when it had been distorted by a fraud whether by the defendant himself or by a third party unconnected with the transaction.

An alternative method, in which it was permissible to take into account the price at which the shares were subsequently sold after the true state of affairs had been disclosed, provided a better method for ascertaining the true value of the shares as at the date of purchase.

Mr Justice Chadwick so held in a reserved judgment in the Chancery Division awarding Smith New Court Securities Ltd (SNC) £10,754,005 on its claim against Clibank NA, the second defendant, and Christopher Nigel Roberts, the third party, but dismissing the claim against the first defendant, Scrimgeour Vickers (Asset Management) Ltd (SVAM).

Mr Anthony Grabiner, QC, Mr Ian Glick, QC and Mr John McCaughan for Smith New Court; Mr Jonathan Sumption, QC and Mr Anthony Mann for the defendants; Mr Charles Pugh

and Mr Mark Stader for Mr Roberts.

MR JUSTICE CHADWICK said that on July 21, 1989 SNC agreed to buy from SVAM 28,141,424 ordinary shares of 10p each in the company then known as Ferranti International Signal plc for a price of 82½p per share, that is, a total consideration of some £23 million.

In that transaction SVAM was acting as broker on the instruction of Clibank. Mr Roberts was employed by Clibank in London as the head of its private banking department.

His Lordship found that the bargain was struck after Mr Roberts had fraudulently misrepresented to SNC that there were two other buyers interested in the shares at a similar price, one Clibank and the other Aestria, the Italian state-owned defence contractor.

In the succeeding months the share price of Ferranti fell to as low as 30p per share. By April 30, 1990 SNC had sold all the shares at a cumulative loss of £11,353,220.

SNC brought an action claiming that the oral agreement of July 21, 1989 was rescinded for misrepresentation and repayment of the purchase price, alternatively damages for misrepresentation. During the course of the hearing all parties treated the misrepresentation as fraudulent misrepresentation.

On the basis that without Mr Roberts' fraudulent misrepresentation SNC would not have bought the Ferranti shares, the measure of damages was the

difference between what SNC actually paid and what the shares were worth on July 21.

How did one assess what the shares were then worth? SNC contended that the market price on July 21 afforded no satisfactory evidence of the true value on that day. They said that the market was deceived by the preliminary announcement by Ferranti on July 14 of its result for the year ended March 31.

That preliminary announcement was based upon audited accounts which were subsequently revised on the ground that Ferranti had been the victim of a massive fraud, entirely unconnected with the present case.

The defendants accepted, in the light of *Thyssen v Grant* (1877) 2 CPD 469, *Waddell v Blockley* (1879) 4 QBD 678 and *Peet v Dery* (1887) 37 Ch D 841 that there were circumstances in which the market price had to be disregarded in ascertaining the true value of shares at the time of acquisition.

But they said, those circumstances were limited to cases in which the market value was artificially inflated, or otherwise distorted, by the very representation for which the representative had been held liable as defendant in the action.

His Lordship could see no reason in principle why cases in which the true value of the shares should be ascertained independently of the market should be confined to circumstances in which the market had been distorted by the defendant's own wrong.

The underlying reason for refusing to measure true value by

reference to the market was that the market value would not be reliable evidence of the true value if the relevant market was a false market.

The injustice restricting the plaintiffs to loss measured by reference to a false market might be particularly striking in circumstances where the false market had been created by the defendant's own wrong; but the justification for a measure was not the true measure, no greater where the false market had been created by a third party.

In his Lordship's judgment, it was permissible to look at subsequent events in order to ascertain the true value of Ferranti shares as at July 21, 1989. The price at which the shares were sold at the end of November, after the revised accounts had been published, provided a reasonably reliable guide as to the true value in July.

He held that the true value on July 21 was 44p per share; the total value of 28,141,424 shares was £12,382,226. Therefore the loss suffered by SNC on that day was £10,754,005, being the difference between the price paid and the value of the shares acquired.

In the circumstances that the actual proceeds realised on sales was less than what his Lordship had found the true value to be the loss suffered by SNC was not reduced by the need to give credit for the actual proceeds realised on the sales by SNC between November 20, 1989 and April 30, 1990.

Solicitors: Ashurst Morris Crisp; White Sapie: Davis Hanson, West Kensington.

## Changing basis of negotiations

Cheddar Valley Engineering Ltd v Chaddleswood Homes Ltd

Before Mr Justice Sher, QC [Judgment February 28]

Where negotiations started on a without prejudice basis, it was incumbent on the party who sought to change the basis of such negotiations to spell out the change with clarity.

Mr Justice Sher, QC, sitting as a deputy judge of the Chancery Division, so held giving judgment in open court after a hearing in chambers dismissing the appeal of Chaddleswood Homes Ltd from the decision of Deputy Master Powell of January 10, 1992 in favour of Cheddar Valley Engineering Ltd ordering that a memorandum and letter listed in the summons were privileged and not admissible in evidence.

Miss Ann McAllister for Chaddleswood; Mr Mark Cunningham for Cheddar.

HIS LORDSHIP said that Cheddar was the vendor and Chaddleswood the purchaser under an agreement for the sale of certain property.

The agreement broke down and there was litigation between the parties. On August 1, 1990 Mr Croall, of Chaddleswood's solicitors, telephoned Mr Brydon, of Cheddar's solicitors, and made a without prejudice offer to compromise the litigation.

The offer was not accepted and further negotiations took place. On August 9, Mr Croall telephoned Cheddar's solicitors again hoping to talk to Mr

Brydon but on being told he was on holiday spoke to Mr Mark Ogden, a legal executive of Cheddar's solicitors.

The relevant part of Mr Croall's attendance note of that telephone conversation read: "Put open offer to purchase whole land for £180,000 plus we pay their costs". The crucial word was "open". The issue was whether that conversation was open or without prejudice.

Cheddar applied to the master for a direction that the memorandum and a letter of the same date were not admissible in evidence at the assessment of damages and the master granted the direction. Chaddleswood appealed.

Mr Ogden's evidence was that it was his understanding and belief that those negotiations were on a without prejudice basis and that in particular the telephone conversation was without prejudice. Mr Ogden's veracity was not challenged by Mr Croall although he said he failed to see how misunderstanding could have arisen in the mind of Mr Ogden.

Mr Croall's evidence was that the offer made in the telephone call was expressed by him to be an open offer which was subsequently confirmed in a letter faxed to Cheddar's solicitors later that day. That letter was headed "subject to contract" but was not headed "without prejudice".

There was no mention in the letter that the word "open" had been used in the telephone call. Mr Ogden made the point that given that he was under the impression that the negotiations

were without prejudice, there was nothing in the letter to disabuse him of that understanding.

His Lordship said that between August 1 and 24 there were negotiations for the settlement of the litigation. That alone would *prima facie* raise the presumption that the communications in that period were without prejudice: see *Chocladefabriken Lindt & Sprungli AG v The Nestlé Co Ltd* ([1978] RPC 287).

The offer at the beginning of the negotiations on August 1 was plainly without prejudice as accepted by both sides. In the circumstances one would expect to find something very specific and clear before concluding that they had ceased to be so.

Mr Croall said that he used the word "open" and Mr Ogden could not affirm or deny it. Therefore his Lordship accepted that the word "open" was used but that it was not adverted to by Mr Ogden. He did not pick up the use of "open".

If negotiations started off without prejudice and one side wished

to make an open offer the change had to be bilateral: it had to be communicated to the other side and of course could not refer to earlier without prejudice discussions.

But in his Lordship's judgment such a communication would be circumstances when it would be brought home to a reasonable man would be enough. For instance, it would not be open to Mr Ogden to show that he did not understand "open" because of ignorance of the difference between the two bases or for the recipient of a letter plainly marked "open" to say that he did not read it properly.

But it was incumbent on the party who changed the basis of negotiations that had begun on a without prejudice basis to spell out the change with clarity. It might not be enough just to say the word "open".

Solicitors: Cloney & Croall, Lyham St Annes, Laytons, Bristol.

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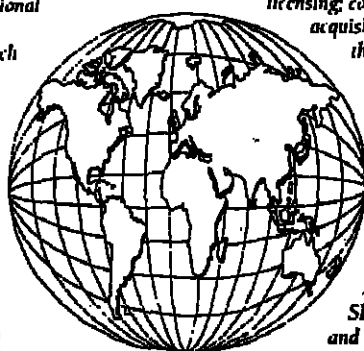
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# Can Scotland keep its oil?

**Marc Weller on whether an independent Scotland would automatically belong to the EC**

The question of independence for Scotland is at the heart of the election campaign north of the border. In principle, the Scots are legally entitled to invoke the right of self-determination. But if they were to proclaim independence, at least two controversial issues would arise: whose are the riches on the continental shelf of Scotland's coasts, and what would be the position of Scotland vis-à-vis the European Community?

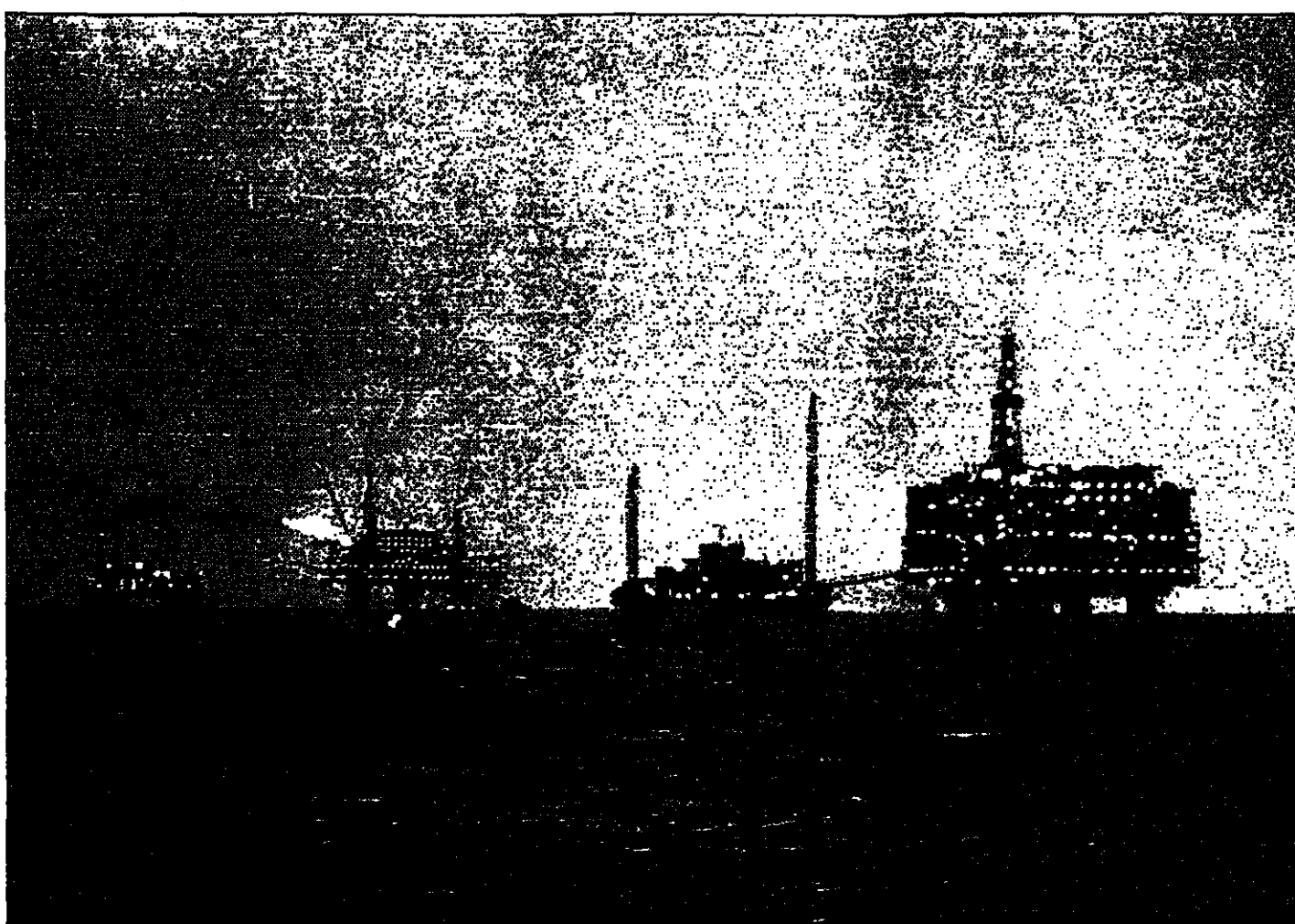
In international law, the act of self-determination triggers the application of the right to "permanent sovereignty over natural resources". Scotland would succeed to full title over the continental shelf adjacent to its territory. But this right would not be unlimited.

In this case of post-colonial succession, the newly independent authorities would remain bound by concession agreements and licences at present granted to United Kingdom or foreign companies. This would not be an altogether bitter blow, however, since the licence fees and taxes would henceforth flow into Edinburgh's coffers.

Determining the maritime boundaries between Scotland and the former UK is harder. On the eastern coast, Scotland would inherit the established boundary dividing the UK and Norwegian continental shelf. But the delimitation of the continental shelf between Scotland and England could pose problems.

At present, a straight line is drawn east from the land boundary between England and Scotland to delimit jurisdiction within the UK (latitude 55 degrees 50 North). However, Whitehall might invoke international rather than municipal law should it come to Scottish independence. Due to the concave coastline leading into the Firth of Forth, the government in London might be able to claim a number of oil fields over which Scotland would wish to assert jurisdiction.

Further difficulties arise over the Orkney and Shetland islands. It seems that that the islands' popula-



Liquid gold: the Brent oil field off the Shetland Isles, which Scotland could lose if the islands decide against independence

tions are to be asked if they wish to join an independent Scotland. If the islands were to opt out of independence, then that might remove further resource-rich areas from Scottish jurisdiction.

Such losses might be tolerable if independent Scotland were to reap the benefits of continued EC membership — an issue which has caused controversy among the political parties in the north. Hugh McMahon, a Labour MEP, commissioned a study from the legal advisers' office of the European Parliament asking about the status of seceding entities within the EC. The study reportedly concluded that entities seceding from EC member states would have to be formally admitted to the EC.

But then Jorge Campinos, the report's author, wrote to the Scottish National Party saying it had not been written with Scotland in mind. However, the opinion was sound legally. According to an

authoritative (although unratified) United Nations draft convention, questions of participation in international organisations are explicitly exempted from the general principles of state succession and there is no principle of automatic membership.

And the reason is simple: states want to protect themselves from having to admit politically undesirable entities into their midst. Increased membership could also upset the voting balance in international organisations and might therefore require constitutional rules to be adjusted.

There are no opposing precedents in EC practice. After Greenland gained greater autonomy from Denmark, it did so precisely because it wanted to leave the EC, rather than remain a member. And the integration of East Germany was treated as a singular case, since

it was achieved under West German constitutional provisions in existence when the Treaty of Rome was concluded.

The SNP argues that its case would be one of dissolution of the UK, rather than of the mere secession of a part of it. However, when the Soviet Union was dissolved, Russia, as the principal successor state, did not have to apply for admission to the UN. It simply continued to occupy the seat of the USSR in the Security Council. With the peculiar exceptions of the Ukraine and Belarusia, the other newly independent republics had to be formally admitted. The former Yugoslav Federation is likely to be treated similarly.

The SNP argument that Scotland would be granted automatic membership because otherwise the remaining parts of the UK, too, would have to apply anew is therefore not convincing. The EC is likely to consider London as the

representative of the successor state.

This does not mean, however, that a transition towards membership could not be achieved from within the EC. The Community is a very special kind of organisation. It is constitutionally committed to achieving the irreversible and ever closer union of the peoples of Europe. An exclusion of the Scots could hardly be justified, even if some member states, such as Spain, are said to be reluctant to admit the principle of secession. If Scotland opted for independence, it seems likely that membership in the Community would be negotiated in parallel with talks about the practicalities of secession conducted at Westminster. Scotland would then be granted membership once independence becomes effective.

The author, a research fellow of St Catharine's College and the University of Cambridge Research Centre for International Law, lectures on international law in the university.

## A new creature takes first steps

European economic interest groups set up for formal cross-border links have been popular

A Manchester-based law firm, Pannone March Pearson, was the first British law firm to form a European economic interest group (EEIG). That was back in July 1989 and since then EEIGs have become increasingly popular with lawyers throughout the European Community as a way of establishing formal cross-border links with other legal practices without falling foul of local professional rules and regulations.

The Pannone Law Group (as it is now known) is composed of law firms from Belgium, France, Spain and Italy as well as Pannone March Pearson in the UK. It has a secretariat in Brussels. Partner Malcolm Keogh, who sits on the EEIG board, says: "Belonging to the EEIG implies a very close relationship between the firms and a presumption, but not an obligation, that work will be referred between the members — subject, that is, to the overriding interest of the clients."

In practice the flexibility of the EEIG means that it can be whatever its members want it to be. In the case of Pannone there are now 200 lawyers within the group and it provides an embryo of what may well turn into a fully-fledged and integrated European law firm once such a creature is permitted.

In pursuit of that aim the Pannone members are meeting in Brussels next month to review additions to their team and high on their agenda is adding a representative from Portugal. "We have our eye on someone down there at the moment and we shall be discussing the possibility of them joining us at the next meeting," Mr Keogh said.

Significantly the EEIG to which Simmons & Simmons belongs has just recruited a Portuguese member and itself has now opened a small office in Lisbon. This comes after a considerable time spent looking at (and rejecting) many Portuguese candidates before finally selecting a partnership led by Luis Nobre Guedes and F Castello Branco.

The Simmons & Simmons EEIG already has very strong Iberian and South American connections. This stems from its links with the Club Abogados which was set up originally by the Spanish firm of J&A Garrigues (with whom Simmons & Simmons shares of-

fices in New York and Brussels and which includes (among others) the well-known Brazilian firm of Pinheiro Neto (perhaps the best lawyers in South America) which is now also a member of the EEIG through its office in London.

"We've been working with the lawyers from J&A Garrigues and Pinheiro Neto for many years and we've developed a sense of common identity with similar ethical values and a deep mutual trust," said Paul de Chazal, the Simmons & Simmons partner who has masterminded the Portuguese opening. "An arrangement like this EEIG, which we're using because we can't set up a proper firm, provides a good umbrella organisation under which we can all co-operate."

That a Portuguese firm has linked with Simmons & Simmons and J&A Garrigues will be a relief to many foreign investors. Portugal is well known as a source of legal frustration. There are many good individual Portuguese lawyers but very few firms capable of delivering modern service. However, with the lowest wage rates in the community and a government which has now put in place the right kind of infrastructure for growth, the opportunities in Portugal are considerable. The fact that Simmons & Simmons is down there working alongside Luis Nobre Guedes has created interest among many London banks.

Portugal in itself, however, may just be a stepping stone to the wider horizons of the former Portuguese colonies. The European Community is likely to play a big part in the redevelopment of countries such as Angola and Mozambique as well as strengthening its links with Latin America. Lisbon is the obvious jumping-off point for most of these initiatives. "Today you are either global or you're nothing," says Paul de Chazal. But in pursuing global ambitions there are risks to be run. Antonio Garrigues, senior partner at J&A Garrigues, says: "Things are changing so fast you cannot afford to stand still. Whatever you do you're bound to make mistakes — so just ensure that they are intelligent mistakes."

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# Britain's short-track progress meets ice wall



O'Reilly: demands are huge

FROM DAVID MILLER  
DENVER, COLORADO

BRITAIN, the silver medal winners in the men's 5,000 metres relay at the world championships, rank among the best four or five nations at the innovative Olympic sport of short-track speed skating. According to Dave Jordan, the team manager, who is retiring after 12 years, that position can only be maintained for, at the most, another two years without substantial increase in subsidies for the international programme from the Sports Council.

The problem is not equipment, but ice. Time at commercial rinks costs money. South Korea, which had the first three in the overall men's individual event here and also took the women's title, get six

hours a day on ice at home. The British squad is lucky to get that in a fortnight, because of the shortage of rinks and, therefore, the demand on ice time.

For Britain, the situation will become accentuated because of the sport's development by, in particular, China, Canada, Japan, the Netherlands and Korea. The level of intensity was, regrettably, demonstrated when a Korean, having shunted a colleague out of the 1,000 metres final with a rash overtaking manoeuvre on the inside, when his country was about to take all three medals, was unceremoniously kneed in the groin by one of his coaches in full view on return to the dressing-room. "Not what the sport should be," Wilf O'Reilly reflected wryly.

World records were broken here more than 30 times, sometimes by two or three competitors in a heat. This was partially because of Denver's altitude, approaching 5,000ft, and the de-ionised water for creating unusually hard ice, but also the rapid progress being made in a new sport.

"What was sufficient to win a semi-final six years ago is today not good enough to survive the heats," Arthur Marshall, Britain's coach, who after eight years in the job is also retiring, said yesterday. "All our major opposition have full-time coaches and physiotherapists, as essential as in cycling. Britain will fall away unless we raise the levels of administration."

The dilemma for the British Skating Association is illustrated by the decision, when hosting the 1994 world championships, to stage the event at... Guildford. Not exactly your focal point of British sport. Birmingham, the home town of O'Reilly — world champion in 1991 and equal fourth this weekend — would have attracted the crowds, but there are two snags: it has no rink of regulation 60 metres by 30 metres size, and the stadium has to be commercially compensated for being available for two weeks, including preparation time.

The only regulation rinks in England are at Basingstoke, Bracknell and Hull. Guildford, where the rink has yet to be completed, received the nod

because it offered the most attractive financial terms. "We're still a Mickey Mouse sport, and desperately need better promotion," Marshall said.

I am convinced that short-track could have a spectacular future if an imaginative sponsor would see the possibilities. Almost anyone who experiences the sport first hand becomes hooked. In Australia, recently, I met people who were fascinated by the televised Olympic event.

In many ways this is the perfect spectator sport: fast, unpredictable, intensely competitive, physically challenging and risky, determined by absolute measurement and not by judging, and with 20 or so races in, say, a preliminary evening session.

The hazards, with speeds of over 25mph in even the longer races, mean that the best performers are often beaten. Being on the edge of one's seat is a sports-writing cliché, yet I have seldom so repeatedly had the experience as this last weekend.

As O'Reilly says, the demands on a world champion are hugely varied, from sprint to endurance, similar to the Tour de France, and, on a two-session day, present more serious difficulty for energy replacement. Aged 27, O'Reilly will continue at least until the 1994 Winter Olympics. "The sport is so new," he says, "and there is little research in physiology or biomechanics applied to short-track. I'm just one of the forerunners."

Woosnam and Lyle fade before Masters

## Faldo strikes right practice chord in New Orleans

FROM MITCHELL PLATT, GOLF CORRESPONDENT, IN AUGUSTA, GEORGIA

NICK Faldo arrived here for the 56th Masters, which starts on Thursday, oozing with confidence after finishing joint-sixth behind Chip Beck in the New Orleans Classic.

"I have not felt as good about my game in 20 months," he said. "It is the first time since the 1990 US PGA Championship that I will go into a major with an upbeat feeling."

Faldo completed the tournament on the demanding English Turn course with a third successive 69 for a total of 281. Beck won the \$180,000 first prize with a 70 for a score of 276, 12 under par. Mike Standley (69), another American, and Greg Norman (69), of Australia, shared second place.

Faldo, who was four over par after three holes of the first round, was the only player to score below 70 in each of the last three rounds. "I set myself a stiff task and responded to it," he said.

"In particular, the course provided the perfect preparation for Augusta. I have never seen so many serious pin positions on downslopes to which you had to hit career shots to get anywhere near the hole."

"The greens, too, were quick, not as quick as Augusta, but plenty quick enough. My putting routine feels good and I know what I want to practice this week. It means I can get on with it and not overdo things."

Faldo, runner-up in The Players Championship the previous week, won the Masters in 1989 and 1990 but finished joint-12th 12 months ago, when Ian Woosnam prevailed. He has won only once — the Carrolls Irish Open — in the last 17 months, during which time he has experimented with his swing and examined his putting stroke.

Faldo flew to the United States on March 1 to spend one week with David Leadbetter, his coach, before

playing four tournaments leading up to the Masters.

In contrast to Faldo's buoyant mood, both Sandy Lyle, the 1988 champion, and Woosnam are mere shadows of themselves. Lyle, whose wife, Jolande, will caddy for him, has lost his way again in the last few weeks and Woosnam appears so despondent that it is difficult to imagine that he can summon the strength of character to successfully defend the title.

Norman has never won the Masters. He was not qualified this year but was given an invitation, and I believe he deserves his place in the field. He has contributed much to the game by virtue of his sheer power and presence.

New Orleans was only his third tournament of the year, after arthroscopic surgery on his left knee, but he came within a whisker of ending a losing sequence which goes back to May, 1990. "I played well all week long," he said. "I played smart, impressive golf and I achieved all my goals except winning. I feel very, very good. My attitude is excellent, my attitude is excellent."

Severiano Ballesteros was content with a 69, with which he shared twelfth, although José María Olazábal, runner-up to Woosnam in the Masters last year, fell away with a 76. Steven Richardson played well within himself with rounds of 73, 72, 72 and 71. He is playing in his first Masters, as are Colin Montgomerie, who has missed the halfway cut in three successive US Tour events, and David Feherly.

LEADING FINAL SCORES (US unless stated): 274: L. Trevino 67, 69, 69, 70 (81/200); 276: J. Nicklaus 68, 72, 69, 69 (80/200); 278: C. Beck 69, 69, 71, 71 (80/200); 279: A. Standley 69, 73, 67, 67 (80/200); 280: G. Norman 70, 74, 67, 67 (81/200); 281: M. Faldo 69, 73, 69, 69 (81/200); 282: S. Lyle 70, 74, 69, 69 (82/200); 283: I. Woosnam 71, 74, 69, 69 (83/200); 284: G. Standley 71, 74, 69, 69 (83/200); 285: G. Norman 72, 74, 69, 69 (84/200); 286: G. Standley 72, 74, 69, 69 (84/200); 287: G. Norman 73, 74, 69, 69 (85/200); 288: G. Standley 73, 74, 69, 69 (85/200); 289: G. Norman 74, 74, 69, 69 (86/200); 290: G. Standley 74, 74, 69, 69 (86/200); 291: G. Norman 75, 74, 69, 69 (87/200); 292: G. Standley 75, 74, 69, 69 (87/200); 293: G. Norman 76, 74, 69, 69 (88/200); 294: G. Standley 76, 74, 69, 69 (88/200); 295: G. Norman 77, 74, 69, 69 (89/200); 296: G. Standley 77, 74, 69, 69 (89/200); 297: G. Norman 78, 74, 69, 69 (90/200); 298: G. Standley 78, 74, 69, 69 (90/200); 299: G. 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# Soft conditions only concern for Arazi's classic springboard

By MICHAEL SEELY

WITH THE Grand National over, the new flat racing season is suddenly flaring into dramatic life.

In France today, Arazi, a short-priced favourite for the Kentucky Derby after that brilliant victory in the Breeders' Cup Juvenile last autumn, faces only eight opponents in the Prix Omnium II at Saint-Cloud.

So superior is the 1991 champion two-year-old considered to be to his rivals, and even with ground softer than he has encountered before, no pari-mutuel prices are likely to be returned.

Three of the runners are stable companions of the "wonder horse". Akiko (Eric Saint-Martin) and Carson Bay (Claude Piccone) will be acting as pacemakers for Arazi, who will be ridden by Steve Cauthen and who will

be carrying Sheikh Mohammed's maroon and white colours for the first time.

Allen Paulson, Arazi's joint-owner and Pat Valenzuela, who rode the Blushing Groom colt to victory in the Breeders' Cup series and will again take the mount in the Kentucky Derby, are flying over to watch what is expected to be an untroubled win.

At Maisons-Laffitte on Friday, Criquelette Head's Hatool, who will be ridden by Walter Swinburn, is having her preliminary for the 1,000 Guineas in the Prix Impudencia.

Among the nine declared is Kenbu, who is also expected to develop into a live 1,000 Guineas candidate for Francois Boutin.

At Newbury on Friday, Muscalle, the new 1,000 Guineas favourite, is expected

to have Culture Vulture among her rivals in the Fred Darling Stakes.

Henry Cecil, Muscalle's trainer, looks to have a strong hand as he attempts to win the fourth time. "Both Midnight Air and Skimble will run in the Nell Gwyn at Newmarket next week. Sun And Shade is a little bit more backward, but will still probably run at the Kempton Easter meeting."

Further excitement is in store on the Berkshire race on Saturday when Rodrigo De Triano, 9-2 favourite for the 2,000 Guineas, is among 13 declared for the Greenham Stakes.

Last season's top-rated British two-year-old, will certainly have his mettle tested by such as Lion Cavern, River Falls and Paul Cole's selected of Magic Ring and Dhim.

Peter Chapple-Hyam, Rodrigo De Triano's trainer, is delighted by the way in which Robert Sangster's winner of last season's Champagne and Middle Park Stakes, has been moving on the Manton gallops. "Cambrion Hills has only been declared for the Fred Darling in case Muscalle is taken out. But 'Rodrigo' is in tremendous form and is on target for Saturday."

Becher's blaze, page 3

## Time to repair Becher's

AINTREE staff will have plenty of time to repair the fire damage to Becher's Brook before the second meeting, introduced this year for November.

National Hunt racing's most famous fence was set ablaze by arsonists on Sunday night, with local youths, rather than animal rights ac-

tivists, suspected as the likely culprits.

Becher's has been modified after a series of accidents culminating in the deaths of two horses in the 1989 National. No horses nor jockeys were seriously injured in Saturday's race.

## Secret Haunt leaves the door open for Torchon

WITH Secret Haunt a late withdrawal yesterday, the way looks clear for Torchon to capture the Hey Group Trophy at Pontefract today.

The Geoffrey Wragg-trained four-year-old developed into a useful performer last term.

After winning his maiden at Leicester in May, the High Top colt romped home in the King George V Handicap at Royal Ascot before lifting a listed race at Haydock the following month.

He was beaten twice by the progressive Surrealist at Doncaster and Newmarket in the autumn, but was clearly over the top on the last occasion.

Torchon faces only three rivals for this £5,000 added ten-furlong event, but it should be an intriguing contest nevertheless.

John Godden's Kansk also had a successful three-year-old campaign, his best performance being a three-length beating of Duc De Berry in a graduation event at York in October.

Starlight Flyer and Swift Sword also had commendable form last term, but Torchon should prevail.

Cabochon, another Royal Ascot winner, can deny 10

stone in the Levy Board Handicap. The five-year-old, a game winner of the Ascot Stakes in June, failed to win over hurdles this winter but, reunited with Willie Carson, should revel in these soft conditions.

The Reg Hollinshead-trained Nominator made an encouraging first appearance in the Philip Cornes Brockley Stakes at Doncaster last month, dividing the well-regarded Touch Silver and Sabre Ratler.

Unless there is a particularly smart recruit among the newcomers, he should put his experience to good effect in the Best Fair Maiden Stakes.

Gooden has made an excellent start to the new season and I nap his Secretariat to open her account in the Spring Three-Year-Old Maiden Stakes.

This Alzao filly was a disappointing twelfth in the Goffs Challenge Race at the Curragh in October, but previously had shown immense promise when a close-up fourth behind Skimble at Newmarket and should prove too strong for another Newmarket challenger, Yazzly.

Lord Huntingdon's Mossy Rose has run creditably on the all-weather tracks this winter, and should make his fitness tell in the Hardwick Handicap. She won at Folkestone last March when trained by Pat Mitchell.

At Southwell on the National Hunt course, Peter Easterby's Gymnark Sovereign can extend his winning sequence to five by outspeeding Woodruff in the Monet Handicap Hurdle and the John Edwards-trained Bonnie Dundee can complete a double here in the Interimils Paper Novices' Chase.

Wragg: Pontefract chance for Torchon

Wolverhampton

## Spirited challenge from Tarry

JIM Tarry's determined challenge to the leading rider, Robert Alner, continued on Saturday when he followed up last week's treble with two more winners at the Blankney point-to-point.

After Fine Lace, ease on the flat, checkly won the first, backed by two lengths, St Laver took the maiden by half-a-length in an exciting finish.

Tarry's tally has increased to 11 and one shrewd judge has had a substantial wage at 40-1 about him winning the championship.

Alner still leads by four, but

he had a disappointing day at the Blackmore and Sparkford Vale with only three seconds to show from five rides.

Justin Farthing bounced back after his fall on Rushing Wild in the Foxhunters at Aintree to beat the Alner-ridden favourite, Spring Fun, on Archie's Nephew in the members.

In the Haydon Times Championship qualifier, Dolittle, who showed good form last year, made all on his seasonal debut to win by ten lengths from Birdy Girl, ridden by Jackie Thurlow.

At the Southdown and Fridge, Lake Tobias quickly followed up her Parham maiden win last week when, under City Cosgrove, she won the BMW qualifier.

Today's Heywood meeting features two Sporting Life-sponsored open races over extended distances. Moss Connell could surprise in the ladies, run over three miles and five furlongs, while Good Waters may outstay his rivals in the four-mile open.

TODAY'S MEETINGS: Dumfriesshire, Lockerbie 2m south-west of town (10.00); Heywood, 2m E of Chipping Norton (2.00).

## RESULTS FROM YESTERDAY'S MEETINGS

# RESULTS FROM

## Wolverhampton

Going: heavy

2.30 (1m 40yds) 1. Al Mutham (L. Dutton, 6-1); 2.30 (1m



West Indies selectors under fire

# S Africans exude confidence and look like winners

FROM RICHARD STREETON IN KINGSTON, JAMAICA

AS SOUTH AFRICA continue their untroubled practice, guarded by armed police, with not a demonstrator in sight, it is ironic that West Indies could be cast as the villains in the first one-day international here today.

Acute disappointment at the poor World Cup results, plus criticism of the selectors for keeping the same side, is still rife. Nobody will be surprised if West Indies are booted as they take the field.

The volatile Caribbean spectators have featured more than once in cricket history's catalogue of crowd disturbances. To be fair, though, the uproar has seldom been directed at visiting sides. Invariably the target has been poor cricket by their own players or what has been considered unsatisfactory umpiring by local officials.

On this historic occasion, any qualms held by the ordinary Jamaican about the South African presence in their midst seemed to have been allayed by their government's approval for the visit. Since Kepler Wessels's players arrived, they have had a good press in this context. Both the print and broadcast media have stressed how much things have improved in the Republic.

Meanwhile South Africa hardly lack motivation to perform at their best in the three

WEST INDIES (from: R B Richardson (captain), B C Lara, D L Haynes, K L T Arthur, P V Simmons, C L Hooper, W K M Bailey, J R Williams, C E L Ambrose, A C Cummins, R A Harper, S P Patterson, J C Adams)

WEST INDIES (from: R B Richardson (captain), B C Lara, D L Haynes, K L T Arthur, P V Simmons, C L Hooper, W K M Bailey, J R Williams, C E L Ambrose, A C Cummins, R A Harper, S P Patterson, J C Adams)

internationals and solitary Test match. The players exude confidence and must be considered favourites in the one-day series, always remembering the lottery that is represented in any limited overs game. In the World Cup South Africa beat West Indies at Christchurch by 14 runs.

Neither side has announced its team. On a bone-hard Sabina Park pitch, West Indies are expected to remain faithful to the four-fast-bowlers play, with Simmons, Arthurton and Hooper sharing the other 10 overs. David Richardson, the only wicketkeeper in the South African party, was left limping with a badly bruised and swollen foot after being hit in the nets by Donald yesterday. If he cannot play, Kirsten would keep wicket.

Raman Subba Row, former chairman of the Test and County Cricket Board, is the ICC referee. For Jamaica the match is as significant a sporting occasion as any held in this lovely country since the

1966 Commonwealth Games. A 13,000 capacity crowd will be present.

Television revenue will bring the West Indies board some much-needed profit, but, in cricket terms, even some officials have questioned the timing of the South African visit. West Indies should be taking stock after the recent uneven performances, which have followed the wholesale clear-out involving such giants as Richards, Greenidge, Dujon and Marshall.

Several important issues will be resolved by the West Indian board before they undertake an arduous programme in 1992-3. This includes a full Test tour to Australia, a triangular knock-out tournament in South Africa, followed by a Test series at home against Pakistan.

Clyde Walcott, the board president, has admitted that the West Indian domestic programme must be revised to include more one-day matches. At the moment the one-day Geddes Grant Shield provides a maximum of three games a season for each territory. A round-robin format to bring in additional fixtures is being considered.

West Indies are also debating whether to appoint a coach. Clive Lloyd or Rohan Kanhai, who has been so successful recently with Jamaica, the Red Stripe Cup winners, are the front runners.



Dressing down: Wessels makes do with the bare essentials for a practice net

MOTOR RACING

## Mansell's win is soured by seeds of doubt

FROM NORMAN HOWELL IN SÃO PAULO

NIGEL Mansell, Riccardo Patrese and the Williams team have every reason to purr with contentment over the fledgling grand prix season. Three wins for Mansell, three second places for Patrese. The perfect start.

Yet the first signs of unrest, the first grumblings of discontent, have already emerged in the Williams camp. Patrese is clearly disturbed by the manner of Mansell's victory in the Brazilian grand prix on Sunday.

For the second time this season, the Italian made a faster start than Mansell. But unlike the South African grand prix, in which he was immediately overtaken by his team-mate, Patrese stayed ahead until he had to make a pit-stop for a tyre change.

"Until then, I was holding him off," Patrese said. "It wasn't easy but I was managing to stay ahead. After the tyre change, things started going wrong with my car, so I gave up the chase and settled for second."

Privately, Patrese was upset that Mansell made his pit-stop first. He felt it gave Mansell a considerable advantage and lost him the race.

Yet Williams say both drivers had agreed that Mansell should come in first. "It was a team decision," Peter Windsor, the team manager, said.

One driver is assigned a "window" — say between the 22nd and 28th laps — and if he chooses to stay out longer, then the other driver has the right to choose when to come in. It appears that when Patrese allowed his "window" to pass, Mansell decided to come in.

Patrese must have felt that, without Mansell harassing him, he could have lowered his lap time and set up a cushion for him to change tyres and still stay ahead of a

charging Mansell. Yet he was unlucky to find himself behind a long line of back markers, which slowed him down.

"It was as if there had been a yellow flag on the course," Windsor said. "All those cars in front of Riccardo meant that not only did he not speed up, he actually slowed down."

Much ado about nothing? Both drivers are highly competitive, with Mansell the quickest. But as both are meant to have equal equipment, his speed margin is significantly reduced. If he finds himself behind Patrese, he knows Patrese is unlikely to give him free passage.

Both drivers will have to look around for reasons, or excuses, as to why the other has performed better on a particular day. This can eventually lead to the kind of misunderstandings that simmered below the surface last season, when Mansell had two cars at his disposal and was the official No. 1.

Without doubt, the seeds of conflict are already there. On the surface, Mansell and Patrese are pally and chatty, exchanging witticisms at post-race press conferences. But a few ill-chosen words can lead to a break-out of war.

They are also racing against each other because at the moment and as Mansell is usually quicker, if he is to win the same equipment. No driver likes to admit he is slower than his team-mate; therefore, it must be the machinery.

Paranoia sits easily on drivers' shoulders and the tyre change incident here at Interlagos may continue to fester in Patrese's mind. Frank Williams may have to watch out more for that than the still-awaited threat from McLaren.

SQUASH RACKETS

## Newton pays penalty

BY COLIN MCQUILLAN

THE qualifying rounds of the Hi-Tec British Open championships had scarcely begun at Lamb's Club in London yesterday before the tension of the game's pre-eminent event was explosively displayed in a match won 1-9, 2-9, 9-7, 9-0, 9-6 by Paul Lord, of Cheshire, over Brett Newton.

Newton, of Australia, was banned for six months last season and is well known for on-court antics that cause officials to refer to him as "Brett".

Lord, aged 22 and ranked only 19 in England, had heard about Newton's reputation. "But it was worse than I expected," he said after taking match point with the fourth disciplinary conduct point of the encounter.

Newton, ranked No. 28 in the world, began in commanding, if rather obstructive style, against Lord, whose experience has been limited to national league play for Manchester Northern. But Newton attracted a warning from the referee, John Robinson, at 4-4 in the third game for continually throwing down his racket when making let calls. "It will be a stroke every time you do that," Robinson said.

The next one came after a legitimate penalty stroke call at 8-6, giving the game to Lord. There was another warning in the fourth game and three more conduct penalty points in the fifth.

"It was a joke," said Newton, whose supporters were calling for Robinson to give up his badge.

Results, page 39

RUGBY UNION: NORTHAMPTON MEET LEICESTER AT WELFORD ROAD

## Hunter and Rodber drop out of vital league game

BY DAVID HANDS, RUGBY CORRESPONDENT

THOUGH there are fewer than three weeks left of the Courage Clubs Championship season, nearly every remaining game is invested with importance, so close are the issues at top and bottom.

The World Cup, which set the league season back two months, has been partially responsible, together with the bad weather which forced the deferment of fixtures in February. One of those takes place this evening, when Northampton meet a battle-weary Leicester at Welford Road — a Leicester side which lost in the semi-finals of the Pilkington Cup at the weekend and without their internationals, Dean Richards and Rory Underwood.

However, Northampton are agog to maintain their

pursuit of the first division title. "We are at the stage where none of the top three [Bath, Oxford and Northampton] can afford to drop a point," Barrie Corless, their director of rugby, said yesterday. They will be without Ian Hunter, the full back who pulled a hamstring playing for the Barbarians in the Hong Kong sevens, and Tim Rodber, the flanker who is playing for the Army against RAF this weekend.

Frank Packman, normally a wing, covers for Hunter and Simon Foale, once of Bugbrooke, plays in the back row.

Wayne Sheffield, whose expertise has meant so much to Northampton, may spend much of the next season working with junior teams and Glenn Ross, his New Zealand compatriot who has had a successful first season at Franklin's Gardens, has already committed himself for a further two years.

Leicester await fitness reports on Ian Bates and Tony Underwood, who suffered knee and hand damage respectively in defeat against Harlequins, and restore Jez Harris to stand-off half.

Leicester may take heart that Northampton have conceded an average of 30 points in the last seven games at Welford Road and not won there for 20 years.

Six of the teams to play in the Worthington national sevens at Bath on April 26 were decided at the weekend's qualifying tournaments: Bristol, Exeter, Bath, Orrell, Wakefield and Moseley.

Steven Hilditch, the Irish referee who sent of the two French forwards, Gregoire Lascubé and Vincent Moscatto, against England in February, handled a French championship match on Sunday in which Nîmes beat Montauban 56-9.

IT IS the morning after the weekend before as normal service slowly resumes in Hong Kong following its annual rugby jamboree. But while employers here expected a measured return to work, it was straight back to business for New Zealand's international players.

The dazzling seven-side skills of the triumphant Fijians were only partly responsible for the thousands of sore heads among spectators but wholly so for the sore limbs of the defeated All Blacks as they headed home for a hectic season.

Coming four days before the New Zealand trials, the Cathay Pacific Hongkong Bank invitation sevens has tested the fitness of Terry Wright, whose versatility has made him a fixture in All Black teams at seven- and 15-a-side.

Before the start of a punishing season, Wright is already feeling the pressure. He arrived here protecting a shoulder injury but vain attempts to halt the rampaging Fijians was hardly what the doctor ordered.

As an accountant, Wright knows how to balance books. He was forced to come off at half-time in the final on Sunday, with his side well on the way to a 22-6 defeat but with the importance of the century season ahead in the back of his mind.

The trial on Thursday kicks off the selection of the side to meet a World XV three times in a week, with the first match on April 18. Wright, aged 29, appreciates the strength of the opposition.

"This will be different, though, because these games

## Wright is quickly back in business

FROM DAVID CHAPPELL IN HONG KONG

have normally been festival matches," he said. "This time, they have been accorded All Black status."

The matches that follow against the Irish touring team will be a prelude to the climax of New Zealand's busy international schedule.

They go to Australia to play the world champions in the Bledisloe Cup and then embark on a much-awaited tour of South Africa in August.

In the All Black trials, the presence of Western Samoan internationals will affect Wright particularly, with the added challenge of Timo Tagaloa for a place on the wing. The contrast between the 15-stone Samoan, who made such an impression in the World Cup, and Wright, an All Black since 1986, could hardly be greater.

The option of playing Wright at full back — to accommodate the likes of Tagaloa, Kirwan and Tumu — may be restricted. Lawrence Mains, the new coach, is placing the emphasis on speed and enterprise after the loss of the World Cup and several experienced players have already been omitted.

Rebuilding is also a priority here, with the upgrading of the Government Stadium to a 40,000 all-seater arena that is designed to attract the World Sevens Cup in 1997. The inaugural event takes place in Scotland next April and Wright will figure in the New Zealand plans for that.

He retains a particular affection for the Hong Kong sevens but he must first shoulder the burden of expectancy and resist the many challenges in a busy international season.



Tony Underwood: late decision on fitness

RUGBY LEAGUE

## Wigan dominates GB tour party

BY KEITH MACKLIN

WIGAN will send a complete team of 13 players on the summer tour of Australasia, and if Botica, Bell and Panapa had not been New Zealanders would no doubt have sent their complete first team squad.

Malcolm Reilly, the Great Britain coach, yesterday announced 32 names for the tour of Papua New Guinea, Australia and New Zealand, and the record Wigan contingent is a tribute to, and recognition of, Wigan's world-beating form of the past six seasons under first Graham Lowe, and now John Monie.

The Central Park representatives, who would only require two substitutes from other clubs to turn out en masse in a tour game, are Edwards, Gregory, Hampson, Lydon, Offiah, Beckis, Clarke, Covey, Dermott, Lucas, McGinty, Platt and Skerrett.

The two surprising choices, although Wigan club officials are not surprised in the least, are the hitherto uncapped forwards, Billy McGinty and Neil Cowie, who were signed at the start of the season from Warrington and Rochdale Hornets more as replacements than regular first teamers. However, each has played a key role in the 15-man team game used by Monie as Wigan have

swept towards a third consecutive cup and league double.

The other uncapped players are Sonny Nickle, the St Helens forward, and Graeme Hallas, the Hull Kingston Rovers centre.

The Wigan record tally of 13 touring players is five more than the previous record of eight, by Wigan, in 1950.

Elly Hanley, formerly of Wigan and now with Leeds, will captain the party with Garry Schofield as vice-captain. Among those disappointed at their omission are the Featherstone Rovers scrum half, Deryck Fox, and the Warrington backs, David Lyon and Allan Bateman. Lyon toured New Zealand in 1990, and Bateman and Fox played against France in this season's internationals.

Ian Lucas broke his wrist in Wigan's game at Featherstone but is expected to be fit to tour.

TOUR PARTY: Backs: G. Connolly (St Helens), D. Fox (Featherstone), G. Hallas (Hull Kingston Rovers), S. Nickle (St Helens), N. Cowie (Wigan), B. McGinty (Wigan), P. Skerrett (Wigan), P. Lydon (Wigan), M. Reilly (Great Britain), G. Edwards (Wigan), J. Hampson (Wigan), J. Offiah (Wigan), J. Clarke (Wigan), J. Covey (Wigan), J. Dermott (Wigan), J. Lucas (Wigan), J. Platt (Wigan), J. Bateman (Warrington), D. Fox (Featherstone), D. Lyon (Warrington).

## Memorable start for Olympic aspirants

FROM BARRY PICKTHALL IN HYÈRES, FRANCE

THE leading Olympic aspirants from Britain enjoyed a memorable opening day at the French pre-Olympic regatta here yesterday after counting four first places, a second and a fourth in this world class fleet.

Barrie Edgington and Penny Way gained double victories in the men and women's Olympic windsurfing classes. Russell Peters scored a surprising but well-deserved win in the Soling keelboat class, and last night, Paul Brotherton and Andrew Hemmings capped the day with a runaway win in the second 470 race.

Racing in six to 10-knot winds — typical conditions expected off Barcelona in July

## Nippon crew battles hard for no reward

San Diego: The loss by Nippon to Il Moro di Venezia (Paul Cayard, Italy) in the America's Cup challenger semi-finals of San Diego has all but eliminated the yacht, her skipper, Chris Dickson, and her crew, Bob Ross.

The ingenuity and persistence of the Japanese crew, with its core of skilled New Zealanders, which allowed Nippon to finish only 13th in the 53rd America's Cup, despite breaking the main boom six minutes before the start, were outstanding. But with only one win in six races, the end is in sight.

In the defenders' series, America's Cup skipper, Bill Koch, by 34 seconds in a close contest.

## Draw appears likely in absence of desire

THERE can be few teams as disappointed right now as West Ham United and Norwich City, who meet at Upton Park on Saturday.

Only a sequence of improbable results can prevent West Ham from being relegated, while Norwich's last hope of a trophy this season disappeared on Sunday when they lost to Sunderland in the FA Cup semi-finals. A draw is a good bet as neither side appears to have the motivation to win.

Notts County also look as if they are fighting a losing battle against the drop. They have gone 14 League matches without a victory and may do no more than draw against Coventry City, who are equally anxious for points.

Further down the League, Southport United v Barnet has the most treble chance appeal. They stand shoulder to shoulder in the fourth division, contesting the play-off positions.

## Draw appears likely in absence of desire

A point apiece will not be of much use to either Port Vale or Brighton in their attempt to stay in the second division, but that is the most likely outcome of their encounter.

Wolverhampton Wanderers thrashed Newcastle United 6-2 in their last home game, but Cambridge United will surely be made of sterner stuff. Cambridge's challenge for promotion has been based on a sound away record, winning nine times and drawing seven. Expect them to get another draw at Molineux.

## Draw appears likely in absence of desire

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TUESDAY APRIL 7 1992

## Liverpool want to be in Europe for Souness



Moran: shocked

By STUART JONES  
FOOTBALL CORRESPONDENT

FOR the second time in four seasons, winning the FA Cup has become a crusade for Liverpool.

In 1989 their Wembley triumph was dedicated to the 95 supporters who lost their lives in the Hillsborough tragedy. Now a campaign has been launched on behalf of their manager, Graeme Souness.

As Souness prepared to undergo triple heart bypass surgery, Ronnie Moran, his temporary successor at Anfield, yesterday declared the club's intentions. "We must try and give Graeme something to come back to," Moran said. "We must guarantee that he returns to a club

involved in European football next season."

The only possible route, through the Cup Winners' Cup, was all but blocked by Portsmouth at Highbury on Sunday. Liverpool equalised three minutes from the end of a protracted and dramatic semi-final which might have been designed to promote a cardiac arrest.

Considering the revelation which was to follow, Souness's reaction to the goal was even more remarkable. Unable to contain his emotion, he ran on to the pitch punching the air before sinking to his knees.

Nor did his demeanour during the press conference afterwards carry the slightest

hint of apprehension. Yet David Moore, the Liverpool chairman, revealed yesterday that all had not been well with Souness recently. "He hasn't been feeling quite right for some time," Moore said, "and he's been a little concerned."

At the age of 39, Souness is the youngest manager in the first division, but he will have suspected that coronary trouble might lie ahead. The disease is hereditary, and his father had to undergo similar surgery three years ago.

A week short of his first anniversary as the Liverpool manager, Souness knew of his impending operation on Thursday after a routine medical had shown that his arteries were dangerously

narrow. He chose to keep the information from his staff until after the semi-final.

Moran, who also acted as the caretaker after Kenny Dalglish's equally unexpected departure, was "shocked," because he has shown no ailments during training.

"A fitness fanatic, he is always down at the training ground first thing in the morning. He goes on runs and sometimes trains with the squad," Moran said.

When they were told during the journey back from North London, the players were no less startled. Initially they imagined that Souness was joking, but Moore's underlined the gravity of the illness. "It is serious," he said, "but I know his character.

He's a fighter and he'll be back with all guns blazing."

Don Howe has demonstrated that rehabilitation can be complete. Three years after undergoing the same operation, he actively works with his Coventry City squad and insists that after practice his powers of recovery are unimpaired. He, too, expects Souness to be able to resume at the start of next season.

Yet the strain inherent within the job was too much for Dalglish. Those who doubted the plausibility of his reason for resigning may care to revise their opinion.

Dalglish and Souness have personal experience of the toll that can be taken. Both represented Scotland under Jock Stein, who suffered a fatal

heart attack in the closing minutes of a decisive World Cup qualifying tie in Cardiff in 1985.

Tony Barton survived a massive attack the previous year. The former Aston Villa manager was in Highbury's press box on Sunday and was able to empathise with Souness. "You could see his relief," he said. "That was the pressure coming out."

"I can understand the pressure he's been under. Liverpool's season has been disappointing by their standards and the bigger the club the bigger the pressure. It gets to you on match days and during games. People don't realise that managers can't enjoy games. If your team loses, you can be out of a job."

Souness, though under no such threat at Anfield, has already paid a high price. His marriage foundered three years ago when he was in charge at Rangers, the club he left partly because he wanted to spend more time with his three young children, who live with his estranged wife in southern England.

Liverpool's thoughts are with him now as they prepare for seven fixtures in 18 days including Monday's semi-final replay at Villa Park.

"You never know, Graeme may be able to lead us out at Wembley," Moran said. "It is up to the specialist, but I know how much he would love that."

Souness's future, page 3

Football strike averted by improved offer

## Premier League chairmen step back from brink

By PETER BALL

THE Premier League has stepped back from the brink. At their meeting at Lancaster Gate yesterday morning, the 22 first division club chairmen unanimously agreed to make a "revised offer" to the Professional Footballers' Association (PFA).

The decision was enough to put the PFA's threatened industrial action on hold, ensuring that the Rumbelows Cup final between Manchester United and Nottingham Forest on Sunday and the FA Cup semi-final replay between Liverpool and Portsmouth on Monday can go ahead.

After the threats of closing the game down last week, and ultimata about final offers, the first division chairmen were in a more conciliatory mood yesterday. "Everybody wanted a settlement. There was no hint of confrontation in the air," Rick Parry, the chief executive of the Premier League, said. "We have moved some way because of the over-riding need to reach a settlement."

The Premier League re-think came hardly a moment too soon. In the afternoon, Gordon Taylor, the chief ex-

ecutive of the PFA, announced the result of the strike ballot of first division players. As expected, it gave him a mandate for industrial action with a majority of over 90 per cent.

The 594 first division players were asked three questions. Would they refuse to play in live television matches until the cameras were removed? Would they refuse to play in all television matches until the cameras were removed? Would they take part in a strike on April 18?

The response was overwhelming. A total of 548



Taylor: gratified

supported the first proposal. 549 the second, and 534 were prepared to strike. "I never thought Gordon Taylor was bluffing about a strike," Parry said.

Taylor, as he stood on the steps of the PFA's Manchester headquarters, flanked by the chairman, Brian Marwood, the PFA committee members, Colin Gibson and Clive Baker, and his deputy, Brendan Batson, said: "It is particularly gratifying to the PFA, its chairman and its officers that there should be such support. In the last few hours, we have received an improved offer from the Premier League and we are giving it serious consideration."

"As a result of the improved offer, and in a spirit of goodwill because we know that supporters, police and the players want to make their plans, no action will be taken which could possibly effect the Rumbelows Cup final and the FA Cup semi-final replay."

Taylor again stressed yesterday that the dispute was not simply about the percentage the PFA would receive from the television contract, but that has hitherto been an important sticking point.

There is little doubt that the "final offer" of five per cent, with a minimum guarantee of £1 million, made by Sir John Quinton, the chairman of the Premier League, ten days ago, has now been improved significantly.

The players had asked for ten per cent, their entitlement in the present Football League contract. If that figure has not been reached, a formula giving five or seven-and-a-half per cent up to £10 million, with a minimum guarantee of £1.5 million, and ten per cent thereafter, may be acceptable.

There is still some negotiating to be done and some two chief executives expect to meet within the next few days to begin to finalise the agreement. "It would be totally wrong to say it is settled," Taylor warned. "But things are coming closer together."

Speed remains essential. With the PFA's mandate from the ballot expiring in 28 days, they will want to have things virtually finalised well before then.

Chelsea seek deal, page 23



Know what he means: Bruno looks on yesterday while his promoter, Mickey Duff, makes a point

## Bruno closes in on title shot

By SRIKUMAR SEN  
BOXING CORRESPONDENT

FRANK Bruno could be in a position to challenge for the world heavyweight title by the end of this year. His big chance would come as a result of the match with Pierre Coetzer, of South Africa, the World Boxing Association No. 1 and International Boxing Federation No. 2 contender, in September in London.

A victory over Coetzer would make Bruno the No. 1 challenger for Evander Holyfield's title. As Holyfield has not yet made a mandatory defence, his camp would almost certainly find Bruno an ideal opponent. Bruno would have had only three contests since his defeat by Mike Tyson in 1989.

Bruno's promoter, Mickey Duff, said yesterday: "I have virtually agreed terms with Coetzer's manager, Cedric Kushner, for Coetzer to box here in London some time in September. A victory will get Bruno the approval of at least two of the world bodies. Bruno would leap-frog over all of

the other contenders, including Lennox Lewis. I have no hesitation in saying he is jumping the queue. That's common practice in boxing."

Before the year is out Bruno will be involved in discussions with Holyfield's people for a title bout some time in the first half of 1993. January or February. The bout would be held either at Wembley Arena or Earls Court.

Duff said television would generate around £2 million gross. "Bruno is far more marketable to Americans than anyone this side of the

Atlantic," Duff said. "He can generate so much money there's no one to touch him this side."

Bruno, who received letters from anti-apartheid groups the last time he boxed a South African, Gerrie Coetzer, in 1986, was relieved that sports barriers against South Africa are being lifted. "I find it an exciting prospect," Bruno said. "The South Africans are in Jamaica for cricket, so that opens the door."

Coetzer, who has had 38 contests and lost two, 11 months ago outpointed José

Ribalta, the New York-based Cuban, whom Bruno will be meeting on April 22 at Wembley Arena.

Bruno has been preparing for Ribalta at a health farm in Leicestershire. He has been through eight sparring partners since coming here a month ago. Yesterday, he went six rounds — two rounds each with three sparring partners, David "Bigfoot" Johnson, weighing 20 stone, James Morton, 17st 2lb, and the leading contender for the British heavyweight title, Henry Akinwande, a lightweight by comparison at 16 stone.

Bruno, who expects to weigh in at 16½ stone for Ribalta, looked more heavily muscled than before, but moved smoothly about the ring to catch the nimble Akinwande with some good shots, especially hooks to the body, blows that looked good enough to stop Ribalta. "Ribalta is a tall, tricky, strong sort of fighter but if I hit anyone on the chin I'll knock him out," Bruno said. "I'm not on overtime so if I see an opening I'll take it."

## Eubank ups the ante

CHRIS Eubank yesterday put a £2 million price tag on any future rematch with Nigel Benn. The WBO super-middleweight champion said: "Otherwise the fight will just not happen. With a smile on my face, I will relinquish my crown and go for another world title."

"If the public want to see that fight they will have to pay for it, but to be honest I don't

think I have a cat in hell's chance of getting that type of money."

"I'm in the position to call the shots. I have sacrificed nine years of my life for this game. Now I want to be set free — £2 million would set me free. I could get a million, but 40 per cent would go to the tax man. It might even be 50 per cent or 80 per cent if a Labour government gets in."

## Four face inquiry in May

By JOHN GOODBODY

MAY will be one of the most crucial months for the integrity of world athletics, with four leading competitors facing inquiries by the International Amateur Athletic Federation (IAAF) into drugs allegations.

On May 4, the arbitration panel of the IAAF will hear the case of Harry "Butch" Reynolds, the world 400 metres record-holder, who has been barred from competing internationally since 1990 following a positive drugs test in Monaco but has subsequently been cleared to take part in domestic competition in the United States.

On May 25 and 30 in Toronto, the IAAF Council will discuss the cases of Katrin Krabbe, the world 100 and 200 metres champion, Silke Möller and Grit Breuer.

The four-year ban imposed on the three Germans was lifted on Sunday by the German Athletics Federation (DLV). The trio were originally suspended for allegedly manipulating urine samples during random tests in South Africa.

Hanging over both cases is the threat of legal action by the athletes, who among other things, would claim loss of earnings.

## Rules are relaxed for Lyle

FROM MITCHELL PLATT  
GOLF CORRESPONDENT  
IN AUGUSTA, GEORGIA

SANDY Lyle is making Masters history here this week because he has been granted permission to take his wife, Yolande, who is caddying for him, into the Augusta National clubhouse.

The rules and regulations at Augusta are so strict that no caddy has entered the clubhouse during the 56 years of the tournament. The caddies at the Masters are provided with boiler suits, plimsolls and baseball-style caps with the Augusta logo.

Lyle decided earlier this year to employ his wife rather than a professional caddy. Dave Musgrave caddied for Lyle for ten years during which time he won the Open Championship (1985) and the Masters (1988). Most observers believe that Lyle is making a mistake by not having a professional caddy at his side, especially on the testing Augusta course.

Confident Faldo, page 36

## Orioles' new stadium the hot ticket in town

FROM MARTIN FLETCHER  
IN WASHINGTON

THE American baseball season opened yesterday, and the demand to see the Baltimore Orioles' first game was phenomenal. Touts wanted up to \$350 a seat. Senators and congressmen from Washington pulled every string they had. One couple who asked the police whether it was legal to resell their tickets arrived home to find a message from the officer who had answered their inquiry. "I am willing to pay \$150 each," it said. "Please call me. This is not a set-up."

The attraction was not

President Bush's ceremonial first pitch, though he did once captain Yale. It definitely was not the Orioles' baseball — they lost 95 of 162 games last year. The collective compulsion was to witness the opening of a breathtaking new ballpark in the heart of Baltimore.

The Orioles' old 52,000-seat Memorial Stadium would be the envy of any British football club. Certainly, it was fit to receive the Queen during last year's royal tour. But after 38 years, it faces demolition — too many seats with obstructed views, limited parking space and no corporate skyboxes, the

milch cows that enable clubs to pay their players million-dollar salaries.

The new Camden Yards stadium has cost Eli Jacobs, the owner of the Orioles, practically nothing. The state of Maryland reckons the club generates \$100 million a year in economic activity. In return for an Orioles' commitment to stay in Baltimore until 2006, it has paid \$206 million to buy 85 acres of former railyards a couple of blocks from the inner harbour and build the stadium. A sports lottery and the Orioles' rent will pay dividends on a huge bond issue. Camden Yards has won

such superlative reviews that last Thursday's open day attracted 21,800. It is not a futuristic extravaganza like Toronto's \$578 million SkyDome with its retractable roof. It is a classic brick, steel and wrought-iron ballpark in the style of Chicago's Wrigley Field, Boston's Fenway Park and other great early twentieth-century stadiums, but with state-of-the-art technology.

The first Civil War deaths occurred in Camden Yards. Lincoln passed through on his way to Gettysburg. Centre field is the site of the row-house saloon where the parents of the baseball

legend, Babe Ruth, once sold five-cent beer and ten-cent soup. George Will, a prominent political columnist, considers it such a shrine, such a masterpiece, that he proposed to his fiancée at home plate.

There are no columns to obstruct the 48,041 seats. A sub-surface vacuum drainage system makes the grass field playable within 30 minutes of a rainstorm. A \$4.8 million giant video scoreboard shows instant replays, cartoon animations and the most comprehensive baseball statistics anywhere. There are 72 skyboxes costing up to \$95,000 a season.

Baseball's aficionados had plenty to talk about yesterday. Was the asymmetrical park, with its big left field, designed to help Cal Ripken, the Orioles' leading hitter, and a right-hander, reach the Hall of Fame?

Beyond right field is a restored railway warehouse, the East Coast's longest, housing the Orioles' offices. It is 460 feet from home plate, just reachable by a mighty left-hander helped by the prevailing northwesterly wind. The player who does so will win a car.

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MODERN TIMES

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of Lords

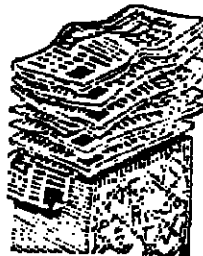


# LIFE & TIMES

TUESDAY APRIL 7 1992

MEDIA

Broadcasters'  
favourite  
pundits for  
the election



## Abuse of Shaw's literary legacy

In the 42 years  
since his death,  
George Bernard  
Shaw's estate has  
earned millions.  
Michael Holroyd  
asks where they are

Everyone knows that George Bernard Shaw left his money to promote a new phonetic alphabet. No one seems to know what happened to that alphabet or where his money now goes.

Shaw's income, which at present includes royalties from the new touring production of *My Fair Lady* led by Edward Fox, as well as from Trevor Nunn's production of *Heartbreak House*, starring Paul Scofield and Vanessa Redgrave, at the Theatre Royal, Haymarket, and from the open-stage version of *Pygmalion* at the National Theatre, is still considerable almost 42 years after his death. This financial year, I calculate, it will amount to £500,000. Such earnings will continue coming in until the end of the year 2000, when Shaw's copyright on works published during his lifetime ends.

In the 1950s, the Shaw estate was valued at more than £700,000 (the equivalent of well over £6 million today) and the death duties to be paid on this sum, which was assessed on the notional worth of his copyrights, totalled £24,000 (now equivalent to nearly £5 million). In his will, Shaw had directed that his money should go to the advancement of a new phonetic alphabet for the first 21 years of the 50-year posthumous copyright period and then, after 1971 and until the end of the century, in equal measures to three residuary legatees: the National Gallery of Ireland in Dublin, "to which I owe much of the only real education I ever got as a boy in Elmhurst", the Royal Academy of Dramatic Art, on whose council he had served from 1911 to 1941; and "the trustees of the British Museum in acknowledgment of the invaluable value to me of my daily resort to the reading room of that institution at the beginning of my career".

Thomas Hardy had left £91,000 in 1928, G.K. Chesterton £28,000 in 1936, J.M. Barrie £173,000 in 1937 and H.G. Wells £60,000 in 1946. The price put on Shaw's estate was phenomenal, and since he had given away his house and its contents to the National Trust and made a dozen annuities to members of his family and people who had worked for him, it appeared as if the death duties could not be paid off much before the alphabet's 21-year term, as beneficiary had expired. In other words, there was no serious money here.

Everything was to change on March 15, 1956, when *My Fair Lady* opened on Broadway with Rex Harrison and Julie Andrews. Even at the preview in New Haven it had been obvious that this was going to be a spectacularly successful musical. Starting its run in the centenary year of Shaw's birth, when the number of international performances of his plays multiplied and a contract for Otto Preminger's film version of *Saint Joan*, to be scripted by Graham Greene, was signed, *My Fair Lady* was to transform the financial position of the Shaw estate. Eleven days after its Broadway opening,



Driving force: Shaw behind the wheel

Shaw had resisted all appeals to downgrade *Pygmalion*. Yet it was this forbidden musical that was subverting his phonetic experiment

The *Times* announced that the two English residuary legatees, the British Museum and the Royal Academy of Dramatic Art, were to challenge the validity of Shaw's alphabet trusts in the courts.

The hearing lasted more than nine days. Delivering his judgment on February 20, 1957, Mr Justice Harman admitted to some reluctance in preventing a man disposing of his money as he wanted. Nevertheless, this was what he was going to do. For who was to know whether Shaw's phonetic project was truly beneficial? He was not at liberty, the judge concluded, to confer the halo of charitable status on the alphabet trusts merely because they tended to "the increase of public knowledge".

The irony was not lost upon the Shavians in court. Throughout his life Shaw had resisted all appeals to "downgrade" *Pygmalion* into a musical. "I absolutely forbid any such outrage," he wrote in his 92nd year. Yet it was this forbidden musical, based on his phonetic fairy-tale, that was now subverting his own phonetic experiment.

Small gangs of alphabetical enthusiasts went on the offensive, holding press conferences, provoking questions in the House of Commons, publishing bulletins in *The Times* and eventually moving Shaw's executor, the Public Trustee, to bring the matter before the Court of Appeal. There, on December 17, 1957, an out-of-court settlement of £8,300 (equivalent to almost £75,000 today) was approved by the Master of the Rolls, Lord Evershed. This money was eventually spent on the complex creation of a 48-letter alphabet and the publication by Penguin Books in 1962 of the extraordinary volume in its history: a bi-alphabetical edition of *Androcles and the Lion: An Old Fable Renowned by Bernard Shaw with a Parallel Text*

in *Shaw's Alphabet to be Read in Conjunction Showing its Economic in Writing and Reading*. More than 50,000 copies of this book were distributed around the world before the settlement money was exhausted.

In 1958, the three residuary legatees began receiving their Shaw royalties. Towards the end of 1959, Sir Edward Boyle informed the House of Commons that this sum had reached about £250,000 (equivalent to more than £2 million today). It is not easy to estimate the grand accumulation of Shaw's royalties since then. From what evidence exists, it would appear that the Shaw estate has probably received some £9 million, but the earlier instalments would have to be multiplied by a factor of seven or eight to reach a realistic figure in 1992.

The British Museum reported in the early 1960s that most of its Shaw money had been invested by a firm of merchant bankers "on the best terms the market will offer". If this continued to be done for more than 30 years, the capital and income should now be very large indeed. Certainly, Sir Richard Astenborough, the chairman of the Royal Academy of Dramatic Art, believes that the academy would have had to close without its share of G.B.S.'s royalties. The purchases by the National Gallery of Ireland from its Shaw fund between 1959

and 1985 reveal a wonderful enhancement of its collection. They include, among more than 100 paintings, watercolours, drawings and sculpture, works by Goya, Courbet, Fragonard, Signac, Renoir, Joshua Reynolds, Camille Pissarro and Jack Yeats.

But there were some troubling aspects to these happy inheritances. "Is *My Fair Lady* behind the real-life drama at RADA?" asked *The Sunday Times* in 1965. Shaw's royalties, which transformed RADA from an orphan into an heiress, also indirectly led to the resignation of its much-loved principal, John Fennell, and the subsequent withdrawal of its Treasury grant. At the National Gallery of Ireland, too, where purchases from its Shaw fund suddenly ceased in 1985, a conflict between private and public money seems to have arisen, Shaw's royalties over the last seven years being used to meet expenses that would normally have been the responsibility of the government.

To guard against similar financial incursions, the British Museum decided to veil its own Shaw fund in secrecy. In 1965, in answer to a parliamentary question, Jennie Lee had told the House of Commons that the British Museum had received £64,417 4s 3d (equivalent now to more than £4 million) as its

share of the Shaw royalties. Twenty-five years later, Tim Renton, the minister for the arts and libraries, refused to answer a question about the museum's Shaw money on the grounds that this was "not a subject on which I have any specific responsibility". On the advice of Sir David Wilson, the director of the British Museum, the trustees had long ago decided not to disclose details of their Shaw capital and income to anyone, but to treat it all as private monies out of reach of Treasury scrutiny. In an age of cumulative underfunding of our national arts institutions, secrecy and guile have been forced on many who try to represent the best interests of these institutions. But the pragmatism of the British Museum also conceals a loss of integrity over its use of Shaw's money.

Shaw did not name the British Library in his will because the books and manuscripts department of the British Museum did not separate and become known as the British Library until 1973. But when he referred to the British Museum in his letters, the context shows that he had in mind the library or manuscripts divisions. What he described in his will as "such letters and documents as might be worth preserving in a public collection such as that of the British Museum", including drafts of 18 plays, were handed to the manuscripts department by the Public Trustee and now form part of the British Library's large Shaw collection.

On December 17, 1959, Sir Edward Boyle told the House of Commons that the British Museum had promised to set up a capital fund and, so that "no act of disquietude was done to the dead", had given an assurance that the income from this capital "would be used primarily for the benefit of the

library". Perhaps no one now remembers this assurance. Between 1960 and 1990, the British Museum made donations from its Shaw fund towards heritage purchases by the museum's manuscripts division and subsequently the British Library amounting to less than £450,000 — or under £15,000 a year on average. Since the librarians were never told the extent of the Shaw fund, they had no knowledge of how great a disquietude to the dead was being committed.

At the end of February, during a short debate on Shaw's bequest in the House of Lords, the eminent archaeologist Lord Renfrew spoke as a trustee of the British Museum. He was happy to see Shaw's obvious wishes largely ignored and Parliament misled; he approved of the money being spent on refurbishing galleries and modernising the non-vegetarian restaurant; he felt altogether satisfied because the bequest had originally been "unrestricted" and because the British Library Act of 1972 "made no specific transfer of trust funds to the British Library". It is a measure of the basis for contentment, and will not content anyone making a will with the public interest in mind.

The opportunity of making an act of reparation has now arisen

following the recent discovery of Shaw's correspondence with Ellen Terry. This has been valued at a "willing seller willing buyer" price of £75,000 and offered to the British Library, which has asked the new director of the British Museum, Dr Robert Anderson, for Shaw's money to purchase Shaw's correspondence.

The purchase of this correspondence could be one of the "key changes" promised by Dr Anderson on his appointment, signalling a new spirit of co-operation. But such a donation will not cancel out the misdirection of Shaw's funds over a long period. Perhaps that is now a matter for Shaw's executor, the Public Trustee, to examine.

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● Bernard Shaw, Volume 4, *The Last Laugh*, by Michael Holroyd, is published this week by Chatto & Windus (£10.99)

### INSIDE

Arts..... 2.3  
Parents..... 4  
Modern times..... 5  
Media..... 6.7  
Horizons..... 8  
TV, radio..... 10

TOMORROW  
The Althorp inheritance

## A myriad lost ages of man (and boy)

MID LIFE

Neil Lyndon on the  
missed opportunities  
to impress junior



was that I was too knackered to lift the bat and lobbed a soft catch into the hands of mid-wicket.

I took the boy fishing for the first time last Sunday (silence those of you who giggle, you girls at the back). Allah being merciful and mighty, the boy caught a good sized fish after about half an hour, just as his enthusiasm was beginning to cool with the spreading chill in his fingers. The rainbow trout which plunged away with his line gave him a confidence for life: he knows now for a fact that he can catch a fish. I'll bet he is still feeling that tug from the deep in his dreams. Even more mercifully, I was given two fish to play and land. When, therefore, we packed it in and went off to lunch, we both felt exceedingly pleased with ourselves and reassured by the law of nature which is supposed to rule that a father should be able to fish at least twice as well as a son.

The boy now thinks that he is one of nature's chosen anglers and that his dad is a cunning old artist with a cast which is at it should be but is, as a matter of fact, a hokum twice over. He hadn't got a rod in his hands more than three times in the last 30 years, and never had much luck even in late boyhood when I fished away every spare hour. He will find out, soon enough, his old man's limitations in the fishing line as he has already discerned them in

the cricket nets. Time is against me here, not just in my own age but in our times, as a whole.

I first saw my own father play cricket in a village match in the early 1950s. His first game since the war, I suppose I was seven; so he must have been about 40. Burdened by excess consumption of Senior Service and a weight of Brylcreem, he chose to go in at number six, three down from the position he had occupied in matches for his county's Club & Ground before the war. None the less, he gave a fine display of cuts and glances, hit one straight drive for four, scored a creditable 19 and was run out by his younger partner who had overestimated his speed between the wickets. "I didn't know your dad was that good," said my friend Colin Sparks. "Shows you, doesn't it?" I answered.

I would have liked to contrive a matching moment for my own son. The first time he saw me play cricket was in a village match in the summer of 1984, when I was 37. Following my father's example, I went in at number six, concentrated like Ken Barrington and scored 44, including a towering six hit high over the beeches and into the allotments (do you want to see the mark in the middle of the blade?). Glory. The only reason I got out

remembers not a single shot.

By the time he was old enough to pay attention, I was past it — overweight, sight gone, poked in back, hip and shoulder (see previous complaints). I played a match when he was five and, going for a fast ball in the field, split the seams in my trousers and had to hide my shame behind the pavilion. Last summer, when he was eight, we went over to the nets for a Friday evening practice. One of the village lads had asked me to observe and comment upon his fast-bowler's run and delivery action. He felt that I could perform this service best from the receiving end. There wasn't much wrong, that I could see, with his action: I didn't see a single one of his deliveries. Coming out of the evening sun, off a 30-yard run, this 16-year-old six-footer bowled me, middle-stump, with three consecutive balls, the last of which shattered the stump. My son was standing beside me outside the net. He gazed at the broken wicket and said, "You know what, Dad? You're useless at this game." He will never see me in my pomp.

When I was his age, I reckoned my dad the equal of Len Hutton. My son thinks that John Major is a better bat than I. How should he understand that it is our age and our ages which are out of joint?

Most of my male friends became fathers in their mid to late thirties. One of my closest friends is 48 and has two children under the age of seven for whose education, he recognises, he is going to have to work and pay until he retires. Another man I know is just about to become a father for the first time at 52. He might be 75 before his child graduates. He may not count on being around for the ceremony.

In a better world, men of our age should be looking forward to becoming grandfathers for the first time rather than teaching games to a first-born who has yet to attain years in double figures. If I ever get to see a grandchild, I am likely to be drawing my state pension and, if the present rate of decline and decay continues, I shall think myself lucky if I can discern his or her form at all. If I ever get to watch a grandson play cricket, it will probably be from a wheelchair parked on the boundary with a soothing bottle of hemlock lodged between my gums.

Oh, well: mustn't grumble. I can still hammer the little blighter at croquet. That's a big consolation and I am making the most of it. Anyone for bowls?

TOMORROW  
Single Life: Lynne Truss

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Photograph by Ross Hargrave







# How Elizabethans pit their wits

THEATRE

An exhibition at the Museum of London sheds new light on how theatregoers behaved in the 16th century. Joseph Williams reports

West End theatre productions are too long and too slow. At least, the Elizabethans would have thought so. Their plays were performed in two hours with no interval, and live theatre was as popular as bear-baiting and cock-fighting. Shakespeare and Marlowe were safe commercial options, attracting all classes of society from groundlings to lords.

With the Museum of London set to unveil a model of the Rose Theatre, based on excavations of the site in 1988, the handful of artefacts discovered and now displayed within the model offer a tantalising glimpse into history. A shingle from the stage roof, a scabbard, a leather shoe, a baluster: not much else. But the actor playing Faustus might have looked at that shingle, or that baluster, as his eyes rolled upwards to seek divine salvation.

His audience might have been on the edge of their benches, except most of them were standing anyway. It is awe-inspiring to think that ordinary people stood in the streaming rain, in freezing conditions, many giving up a whole day's wages, just to hang upon the words of a dramatic genius. Only a few streets away, mastiff dogs were tearing apart maddened and blinded bears in pits, goaded by illiterate oafs. Further on, at Tyburn, near Marble Arch, there were public executions. Everywhere was the stench of open sewers.

But the theatre was every bit as frenetic and dynamic as a bullfight. Rows of jostling, chattering, laughing characters filled the audience, from fiery Tybalt, and snarling Falstaffs to wart-covered Calibans. Apple cores and orange peel were routinely flung at bad actors, adding zest to the occasion.

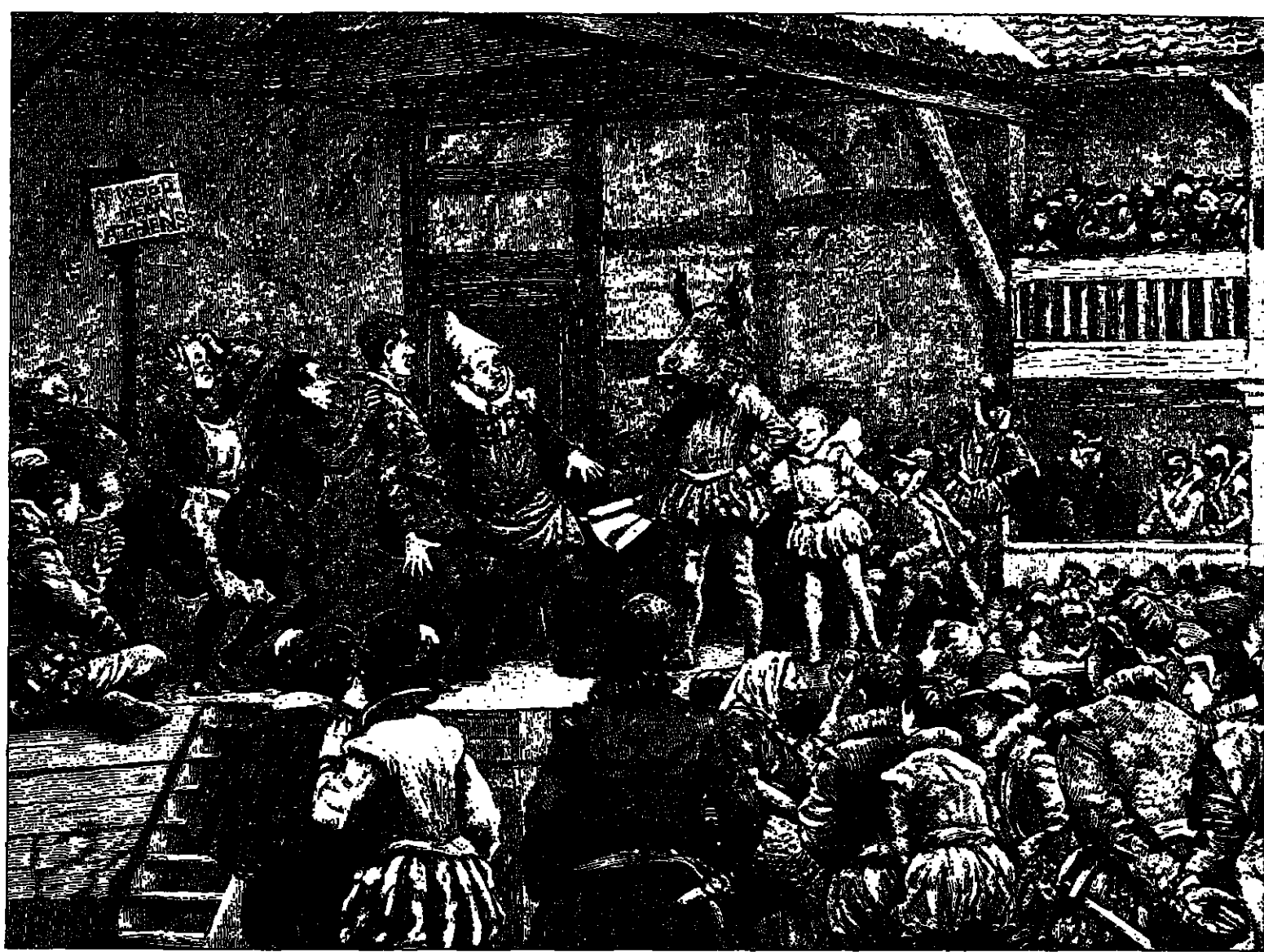
This was an audience as likely to carry swords as the actors on stage. After enough of them had slipped a penny into the collection boxes for a place in the yard, or two or three for admission to the galleries, the flag was hoisted in the theatre's tower and the play began, at two in the afternoon. Refreshments were served throughout.

Unlike modern actors, who enjoy a reverential hush as the lights dim and the curtain rises, an Elizabethan actor had to silence his audience by the power of the acting and the language. We may laugh at the Bedlam-like atmosphere of such productions, but standards must have been exceptionally high for theatre to rival cock-fighting and wrestling in popularity. What theatre today draws as many crowds as soccer or boxing? Of London's then population of 160,000, 20,000 were weekly theatregoers.

The design of their roughly circular playhouses was ideal. The Rose, built of wood and thatch in 1587 on Southwark's Bankside by Philip Henslowe (a Tudor property speculator), was just 72 feet in diameter, with room for about 2,000 spectators. The slightest gesture could be picked up by an audience surrounding the actors on three sides.

This remarkable combination of intimacy and intimacy contrasts with our own proscenium arched theatres, where the audience is pushed back and separated from the actors by the orchestra pit. Imagine *Volpone* performed in the intimacy of London's Almeida Theatre — minus its roof — with an audience almost double that of the Aldwych Theatre.

The late 16th-century theatrical renaissance exploded from the medieval conventions of English morality plays. Before the outbreak of



Groundlings installed: an Elizabethan playhouse during *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, by H.M. Paget. Mary Evans Picture Library

civil war in 1642, and the Puritan suppression of all theatres, about nine playhouses were operating in London, the most famous of which was the Globe, built in 1599, where Shakespeare's greatest tragedies premiered.

The Rose was a typical playhouse: unroofed, except for the galleries and a canopy called the heavens — "fretted with golden fire" — which overtopped the stage on pillars. Here, Edward Allen brought to life Marlowe's big tragic roles.

He had no curtain, virtually no painted scenery, and few props. An audience watching

a Shakespearean comedy knew that a scene was set in Illyria or the Forest of Arden only because a character immediately told them so in the lines.

Audiences were on the ball: much more used to listening and imagining than today's visually-orientated theatregoers. Today, we like to see trees on stage for our Forest of Arden, and then we complain if they look unreal. For Elizabethans, the richness of the language alone turned a court scene into a forest, or day into night, or joy into despair.

language could describe an entire battle, or the despair of one soul.

Theatre must entertain before anything else. Playwrights once offered jigs to amuse the groundlings, who twined with boredom at the more recondite passages in *Hamlet*. There was less fuss about how to interpret a play artistically. Costumes were the greatest expense: one lavish outfit for the character of Cardinal Wolsey is recorded as costing more than £38, a fortune at that time.

"Theatre was a means of communication," says Rosemary Weinstein, curator of

post-medieval London history at the Museum of London. "Plays were very topical, full of information and news, and for illiterate Londoners there were few places to learn what was going on."

The audience was certainly sprinkled with cutpurses and soliciting harlots, but most people came to see the play. Unlike today, new plays and new writers were virtually guaranteed large audiences unless bouts of plague closed all of London's theatres, forcing companies to tour the regions.

We should feel no guilt about leaving before the interval in a dull and meretricious modern production. Perhaps we should be armed with rotten apple cores, just in case? Certainly, the thrill of standing in rows at the last night of the Proms, or even giggling and munching popcorn at the movies, gets closer to the spirit of Renaissance theatre than the awkward silence that can descend, pall-like, on modern West End audiences.

● The Rose Theatre model forms part of a permanent display — Tudor and Stuart Theatre — to be seen from today at the Museum of London, London Wall, EC2 0PT. 600 36991. Open daily except Mondays.

## RADIO REVIEW

## If you think that's funny

As someone who nearly lost his Eleven Plus because of the Goons and his life because of a particularly silly moment in *Who's Line Is It Anyway?* (I was in the fast lane of the M1 at the time), I would like to testify to the beguiling power of radio comedy.

Without the sometimes stultifying obligation to talk to pictures, radio comedy can be faster, potter, wordier and more ambitious than television often allows, and you need only look at some of the shows which have transferred from one medium to the other to prove it.

After *Henry* and *Second Time Around* lost an element of pace when they gained the element of vision, and *Who's Line* and *The Mary Whitehouse Experience* were even sharper when the performers had only to think and talk, without worrying about hinting marks on the studio floor or remembering to shave before going to work.

Radio comedy can also be ruder: anybody old enough to remember *Round the Horne* will know that Kenneth Williams and Hugh Paddick got away with outrageous filth simply by saying it quickly. It is heartening to report that, even in this timid and over-regulated new world, radio comedy is still allowed a few naughty bits.

Not that *Bull!* (Radio 5 Friday) has any of the seedy sophistication of *Round the Horne*. It's an *I'm Sorry I Haven't a Clue* for the Doc Marten generation, and at its worst (about 60 per cent of the first show) *Bull!* found the interiors of Willie Rushion and John Wells to be less subtle than their elders and often lost for words — the right ones anyway.

At its best, however, *Bull!* is going to be exuberant, edgy and blissfully outspoken and if radio is to keep its reputation as the best comedy club in town, programmes such as *Bull!* should be protected, and Radio 5 should be congratulated for growing up fast enough to accommodate it.

If you crave a good old-



Ronnie Barker: his comedy style was analysed in the first of Radio 2's series *Funny That Way* (Saturdays)

fashioned laugh, though, seek out *Funny That Way* (Radio 2, Saturday), in which Barry Cryer pulls off that simplest of successful tricks — shovelling the best of a comedian's material into a nostalgic half-hour and letting us get on with a happy wallow. There are 13 comedies in the series (Groucho Marx got the treatment last Saturday and Joyce Grenfell comes next) but it began with Ronnie Barker, a man who could double an entertainer with the best of them.

What strikes you most about Barker's routines now are their pace and polish — a confident stickiness which is almost as unfashionable these days as his occasional sexism. Comedians don't do jokes about women's chests any more, but Barker came from a simpler age, when women were girls, men were allowed to ogle them, and the purpose of comedy was sometimes to notice the difference. You don't have to agree, but you really do have to laugh.

We were also, according to the blurb, meant to laugh at the "characteristically amus-

ing dry style" of Professor Daniel Dennett, who in *Third Ear* (Radio 3, last Tuesday) discussed the meaning of consciousness with Bill Newton-Smith. The interview sounded like something from one of those monochrome Harry Enfield sketches, but otherwise the jollity was too donnish for an oak like me to understand.

Professor Dennett argued that Descartes was wrong to "think therefore he was", and that we are made up of a trillion electrical circuits, each one storing a scrap of information which, if added up in a certain way, produces the essential You. Add them up in another way and you get the essential Someone Else, who might only exist in the perception of another heap of circuits inside the body of another person who thinks they are someone else too.

If that means that while one conscious entity is sitting here writing a radio review, somewhere in another part of this body another person is reading the papers or (for all I know) walking to the pub, I think I'll join her.

PATRICK STODDART

## CLASSICAL MUSIC

## Showbiz, but with restraint

With a spruce baroque flourish of the Royal Philharmonic's solo trumpet, the José Carreras event was upon us. In the sold-out Albert Hall, stage management was all. The opening of Alessandro Scarlatti's "Gloria dal Gange" was matched by the evening's finale.

In a crude, but effective coup de théâtre, a little erratum slip removed Tosti's "L'ultima canzone" from its original place in the programme, freeing Carreras to interpret its meaning literally and gloriously by restoring it as his final encore.

For such an occasion, of course, the encores are inevitably equal in both number and importance to the programme itself. And more so than ever this time. As if deliberately to tone down the big arena showmanship of the event, Carreras had started soberly and had started as he meant to go on. Stradella's "Pietà signore" was etched austere in line

tenor silverpoint. Meyerbeer's "O paradisi" held more sounds and sweet airs than sensual delights.

No tear could have moistened the eye until the first vocal sob of that "fiume lagrima". Even after the interval it took the click of castanets to stir the audience in readiness for a zarzuela extract, Sorozabal's "No puede ser". Here, at last, was the voice: rollovercoasting on the body of strings, the High Note for the catching, the meltdown to the flutes.

What was really wanted, though, was the Granada and the Sorrento of the encores, the "Cara mia" addressed fervently to the freestyle-thriving front row. Poor Stefania Toczyska more than adequately filled the spaces in between, her Polish mezzo soprano surging valiantly through "Printemps qui commence" and "Stride la vamps". Ello Boncompagni conduced.

At the Festival Hall the next

day, the great Kurt Masur conducted for the soprano Kathleen Battle. Saturday's London Philharmonic concert represented a true and proper meeting of musical minds.

London is at present basking in the presence of Masur: first there were Strauss's *Four Last Songs* with Julia Varady; now, in no less enriching partnership, four of the composer's orchestral songs with Battle. Masur, as accompanist supreme, moulded the LPO as damp day. Battle's voice in turn became, wonderfully, both flame and a child's perception of flame in the fireside cameo "Amor". She dared a slow "Wienlied" with Masur guiding his moth-like violins minutely away from the heat of the tempo, before a finely balanced "Morgen".

Earlier, Battle had sung four orchestral songs by Duparc. Flanking the vocal centre of

the evening were two orchestral pieces for the LPO's Diaghilev series. One of them, as it happens, bypassed the impetuous at its premiere, and the other was rejected by him. Never mind. Masur and the LPO more than justified their performances of Stravinsky's suite from *The Fairy's Kiss* and Prokofiev's *Sylvian Suite*.

HILARY FINCH

## TELEVISION REVIEW

## Glossing our glossolalia

Linguistics, though fascinating, is not the most visual of subjects. If it's pictures you want, grammar rules slightly lower than algebra and marginal tax rates. Nevertheless, BBC 2's *Horizon* made a characteristically brave and intelligent effort to tackle it last night in *Before Babel*.

As inevitably with television, it simplified and sensationalised and hardened up complex and precarious hypotheses. It is not a medium for doubt. But no other television station in the world would have made the attempt, or done so well.

The programme explored the latest work on the wild frontiers of linguistics that tries to trace all the 5,000 languages that exist today, and the many thousands more that have died, back to a single common mother language somewhere between 10,000 and 100,000 years ago. Back to Genesis 11, in fact, where the Lord declares, jealously: "Go to, let us go down, and there confound their language, that they may not understand one another's speech." It seems unkind. The name for this hypotheti-

cal great-grandmother of all languages is proto-nostratic, from the Latin *nostratus*: native or indigenous, produced in our country. The idea that language rippled outwards by agricultural dispersal rather than by mass migration or conquest is new, and more controversial than the programme hinted. But it is persuasive. And if you are in the lingo business, you can hunt it backwards down the millennia, recording the systematic similarities in grammar of languages.

You will bump into some remarkable similarities on your way, with fundamental words such as one and two, and milk and water, which can be thought to sound alike in every language under the wandering moon. You will bump into some remarkable discrepancies, such as Euskara, the language of the Basques, which suggests that they were the original inhabitants of Europe, long before we later immigrants from the Middle East arrived. Basque shepherds still ad lib alternate couplets of verse, as in Theocritus.

If you want to believe in a single source for the original

nostratic language, it will probably have been Africa, which would not have existed in its present continental shape. The first talkers were hunter nomads, and the language that can be reconstructed for them, from the surviving fossils in later languages, was strong on trucks and joints of antelope, and void of the jargon of farming philosophy.

If you are making a film for television, you have to illustrate with close-ups of enunciating lips, multilingual London streets and travelogue shots of the Pyrenees and Africa. But far the best images were not the wild scenery, but the wild linguists, with their beards and barty eyes, and notebooks that make a journalist look neat. A proper scholar, such as Colin Renfrew, the palaeontologist whose work overlaps that of the linguists, talking rationally to camera is better television than a million party politicians. Linguistics is not a hard but an empirical science. You are still permitted to believe in a box of isolated languages rather than a single original Babel.

PHILIP HOWARD

## ARTS BRIEF

## Higher digits

DIGITAL Equipment Company, one of Britain's biggest sponsors of the arts, has announced an increased commitment to the arts this year. Spending will rise to £500,000 from last year's £500,000, with dance continuing to take the lion's share. The Digital Dance Awards are worth £130,000 in 1992; the company is sponsoring English National Ballet's new production of *Cinderella*, which premieres in Southampton on April 29; and there is a new production of the Dickens classic *A Christmas Carol*, set to a Carl Davis score, due this autumn for Northern Ballet Theatre.

## About Ackland

THE silvery tones of Sir John Gielgud will be heard next Sunday at the Orange Tree Theatre in Richmond, remembering Rodney Ackland, who died last year. There will also be reminiscences of the dramatist from Francis King, Hilary Spurling and others, and extracts from several of his plays, including *The Dark River*, now playing at the Orange Tree itself.

## Not rock?

BLACKPOOL is launching a jazz festival. It is to be held in July in the city's Winter Gardens, better known for hosting



Ray Charles: he may be coming to Blackpool

party-political spectacles in the autumn. The festival is promising a lineup which includes both jazz and blues performers, and among those already pencilled in are B.B. King, Ray Charles, Lionel Hampton, Cab Calloway, Roberta Flack, Nina Simone, George Fame, Alan Price, Mari Wilson and George Melly. The Blackpool Jazz Festival will open on July 9.

## Last chance...

EDWARD Bond's *The Sea* has a humanity and humour missing in his more recent work, and Sam Mendes's revival at the National can also boast a fine performance from Dame Judi Dench. She brings inportant arrogance and genteel aggression to the role of an Edwardian lady of the manor, but also a touching regret for the years she has squandered on bullying her social underlings. Final performance is at the Lyttelton (071-928 2252) on Thursday.

Einstein could solve this puzzle standing on his head. Can you?



$\pi$	$\pi$	$\sqrt{\quad}$	$\sqrt{\quad}$	28
$\pi$	$\pi$	$\pi$	$\pi$	24
$\pi$	$\pi$	$\pi$	$\pi$	42
$\sqrt{\quad}$	$\pi$	$\pi$	$\pi$	36
?	34	36	28	

## HOW TO SOLVE THE PUZZLE

The different symbols have different values. Added together they give the totals shown. Work out the missing total for the left hand column. If you can solve this puzzle you could be eligible to join Mensa. The High IQ Society

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# Birds and the bewildered



Sex education has moved from behind the bike shed into the family home. Jonathon Green gives it a whirl

Come any birthday, the head of my elder son's nursery school, an ex-pat white South African of impeccable liberality, would sit the tines down, and ritualistically intone the child's life to date. Which meant going back to mummy, daddy and the nuptial couch and letting it all hang out. The full tour d'horizon: foreplay, erection, penetration, intercourse, sperm, ova, fertilisation, the growing embryo and finally birth itself.

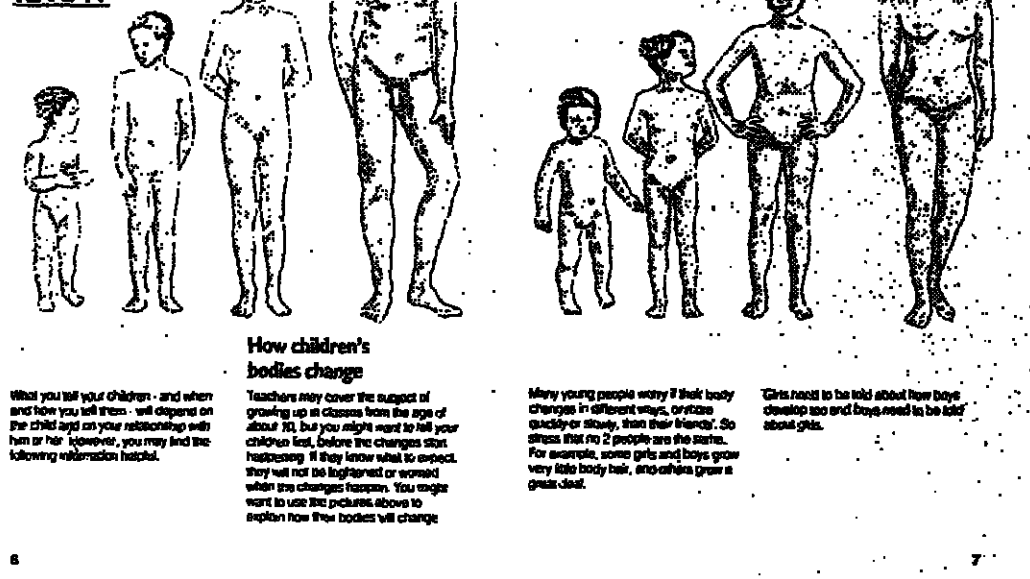
There were many birthdays and, picking up one's child, the odds were that one would stumble on a circle of rising fours slightly nonplussed as yet again they had been told. "Then your daddy put his penis into your mummy's vagina." It was not until later that my son explained that their confusion stemmed from the fact that daddy, having put his penis in, never apparently, since no such reference was included, took it out.

Ask any agony aunt or uncle: we may have had the so-called sexual revolution, we may have had 20 years of gender politics, and we are certainly crutch-deep in the most serious sexually transmitted disease since the discovery of Salvarsan put paid to syphilis, but when it comes to the plain old facts about sex we're still back in the dark ages.

Sex education of the young, those taking sexuality on board for the first time, remains a problem. Not as to availability — the shelves are crammed with audio-visual aids, all geared to getting the message across, and a pretty explicit message it can be — but far more in the realms of embarrassment. And while most of us do find out what's what at school, what we actually take on board is more likely to originate in the playground than in the classroom. It may be better — or at least less painful — than a winning teacher, but peer group misinformation leaves gaps.

To counter some of this, and

## WHAT YOUR CHILDREN NEED TO KNOW



Letting it all hang out: sexual advice for children and parents from the Family Planning Association

minimise the embarrassment factor, the Family Planning Association (FPA) has released three 16-page pamphlets as parts of the new series entitled Growing Up. They include "Sexuality" aimed at teens, "How Your Body Changes" for eight to twelve-year-olds, and for parents, "Answering Your Child's Questions".

What the FPA want is "to encourage and equip parents to become better sex educators". In short, to get away from the playground and put the emphasis on parental rather than teacherly guidance. This may sound like yet another item that, like the extracurricular purchase of books, falls into the category of "get the parents to do the work", but to the FPA it's making them "the primary source" of sex education. It's from parents, not teachers nor peers, that the information should come: facts on masturbation, wet dreams, periods, Aids and the rest.

Good solid stuff, although, as usual, naughty old hedonism is shoved firmly into the back seat and sex is looked at not primarily as a source of pleasure but as one of problems. That should please traditionalists, the more extreme of whom loathe the whole idea anyway, but the

FPA's suggestion that parents should start sex education "earlier rather than later" will set hackles rising. As ever, it's that old bruiser "What you don't know won't hurt you" going on one with the young contender, "Say it out loud, my body's changing and I'm proud".

The FPA opts for the latter and, in "How Your Body Changes", they lay it all on the line. The enquiring eight to twelve-year-old can check out public and other body hair, genital size, erections, periods, ovaries and the like. Whether the younger end of the audience will really understand much of this remains debatable. Indeed, between acne, body odour, unprecedented weight gain, and a variety of hitherto unappreciated bodily fluids, the impressionable eight-year-old might well choose to stick with Peter Pan as a role model. No matter, the book is simple and it clearly answers the questions it chooses to pose.

"Sexuality", geared to teenagers, is the logical successor, taking in HIV and Aids, contraception, a mini glossary (orgasm, oral sex, bisexual, etc.), abortion and a variety of questions and answers from Just 17 magazine's agony uncle. And, like its

junior, "Sexuality" stresses every body's sexual autonomy: "Your body belongs to you. Don't let anyone make you do anything you don't really want to."

The pamphlet is, and once again it requires minimal effort to hear the old alarm bells peeling out, staunchly non-judgmental and morally all very state of the art — masturbation does no harm, sexual preference is strictly up to the individual.

For every "sex is fun, sexuality is good", though, there's a warning, however liberal. Just because you can, doesn't mean you have to. "Answering Your Child's Questions" essentially encapsulates the material offered in its companions, where it differs in sections on communication, and the concomitant embarrassment. There's no doubt among the experts, and this pamphlet underlines it: the more open your attitudes to sex in the family, the better will be your children's ability to deal with their own developing maturity.

So be supportive, be informative, deal as much with the positive as the dysfunctional side of sex, and above all don't be embarrassed. And goodness knows we want to be all the above, yet somehow, try as I did, it didn't happen for me.

No doubt there are parents whose wit and wisdom get it all across painlessly, opening up their young to a world of positive, well-informed sexuality. And equally doubtlessly there are those who simply lay down the old laws. Fine. Lucky old them. "Answering Your Child's Questions" won't be much use to either sex. The rest of us, clapping our pamphlet, attempt to put theory into practice.

So what happens? My younger son, nearly ten, is very happy to read the lot. "Well," says I, "what do you think? Anything you'd like to talk about?" "So what?" I'm only nine. Why should I want to shave anyway? He returns to a much more pressing topic: will I videotape *Nightmare on Elm Street*? But at least there's no embarrassment.

Which cannot be said for his elder sibling. Six foot two at 14, ever more hirsute, voice long-broken, a regular borrower of the paternal razor. The subject is broken. A deep pink sufficiency of bum fluff. "I know all about it." Where did you learn? Sex education at school? "No, I just know." Read the pamphlet and then we'll talk about it. "No," I offer money. We bargain. He reads. I re-open the discussion. He claims up. I consult the parental manual. A soap opera relationship is a possible stimulus for chat. I don't think they have relationships in *The Bill*. A new baby in the family? Not with my vasectomy. A pregnant pet? Like me, the cat is spayed. This is disastrous. I withdraw my bribe. He affects insouciance. I threaten. I cajole, I plead, I up my bribe. Nothing doing. It must be me. The FPA seems to have it down well enough.

Children want to know, parents need to tell. "Responsibility" bulks large amid the labia and testes and I am trying, for God's sake, I'm not embarrassed; indeed, in the midst of writing a book on this very subject it takes some pretty weird stuff to faze me. But my first born, the fruit of my loins, does not want to know. Or more precisely, he does know and that's enough. The three wise monkeys would crack first.

The FPA has seen off my embarrassment, but adolescent boys are made of more determined stuff. Defeated, an inadequate father, I repair to a much less respectable cliché. "Is sex dirty?" Woody Allen asks. I relax in his answer: "Yes, if it's done right."

## Danger: child on, bored

How to survive a long holiday journey without wanting to murder your nearest and dearest

School holidays are upon us, and everything eggs us on to take an Easter break, to get away from it all. But if you have children, you never can, entirely. Unlike the other accumulated treasures of life, you are obliged to take them with you when you go.

While the child-free may let their imaginations be transported to the pascal pleasures of a day in Bournemouth, weekend in Paris or ten days in Antibes, those with children have to concentrate their minds on the journey. Trains and boats and planes — transports of delight for some, vehicles of despair for others.

Most journeys will at least begin with a car journey. Curious that so many pit-stops are provided en route for your car, which was designed to cover long distances, yet for small children, whose design for travelling even short distances is defective, there are few facilities.

At every other traffic light, young entrepreneurs with bucket and wiper blade will leap out and insist on a valet service for your front window, but who offers similar attentions to your children? In fact, there's no swifter way to repel such unwanted advances than by suggesting that they forget about the windscreen and whisk their chummy over the sticky baby in the back.

You may be lucky. Perhaps you've spawned the sort of offspring that is instantly lulled into sleep by the motion of a car. Car advertisements already feature babies lulled to sleep by smooth suspension; no doubt it will shortly be part of the specification: this model will put a baby to sleep in 0-60 seconds.

But you might own the other version, the sort of child who, two lamp-posts from home, will start asking, "Is it Britany yet?" "Can we see the sea?" "Are we nearly at grandma's house?"

Traditional wisdom proposes that you assuage the boredom of long car journeys by playing 1-spy. A ludicrous suggestion. There are only about eight things you can actually spy inside a car: handbrake, rear-view mirror, glove compartment etc. The rest of the game is the frustration of trying to guess what someone claims to have seen.

Far more effective as a diversion is food. In my experience, it does not matter if you gave everyone a full English breakfast just before leaving home, they're peckish again after two miles.

Best to avoid ripe fruit, anything pungent in the sandwich line such as sardines and — unless you have mid-brown upholstery — chocolate in any form. However, there is a price to pay for a silence broken only by crunching and chewing. The cost is crumbs. If you want to know how far a car has travelled, ignore the odometer. Instead, inspect the depth of crisp crumbs. Twenty thousand on the clock is a lie if

there's an inch of cheese and onion under the rubber mat. For most children, accustomed to being ferried about daily by car, any train journey is a treat. Again, before the platforms of Paddington have faded from view you'll be asked how many stations it is to Penzance. And again, the facilities provided rarely seem to match the needs of those travelling with young children: there are few places to feed and change babies, whose functions continue whether or not the train is standing in the station.

Besides taking the luggage you will need at your eventual destination, you must also take a kit for the journey. Colouring books and pens are a must, although you may have to discourage small children from following the examples of adult artwork display — namely, sprayed-on graffiti. Even if you supply your own refreshments and choose a carriage far from the buffet car which would considerably increase the price of your Easter break, there is no escape.

Periodically a trolley will be wheeled up the aisles, tempting your children with displays of lager and flapjacks. Perhaps, like attempting to travel through the "wrong kind of snow", I have always travelled with the wrong kind of children.

Perhaps your Easter journey includes an aeroplane flight. Fine for small babies if a flight cot is provided, and fine for older children who can memorise the emergency procedures leaflet, play hunt the life-jacket and alarm other passengers by trying to open the windows. The worst option is travelling with under-twos, who may not be allocated a seat of their own. You will then have paid up to 80 per cent of the airfare in order to have your infant lashed by special lap-strap around your middle like a marsupial.

Anyhow, someone will soon be coming round with eleven- or high tea on a tray. Whatever time of day you travel, my children have observed, there is always pink meat. Spam and coleslaw, bacon and tinned tomatoes, smoked turkey and what's-in-it-mummy Russian salad.

For journeys in planes or trains or cars, I know of only one solution — extra luggage. Get each child to pack its own bag of entertainment, let them explain to customs why they're importing 13 Sylvanian bunnies.

Until someone invents a viable system of particle transfer ("Beam me up, Scotty") or a time Tardis, the problem remains. Most children, like fine wines, do not travel well. And there is no truth in that travellers' tale: I have always found that however optimistic you are by nature, it is not better to travel hopefully. Far better to arrive.

DAVINA LLOYD

The author is the editor of Parenting Plus magazine.

## Sowing the regional seeds of nursery school discontent

There are three things which matter when considering where to live, estate agents say: location, location and location.

Location matters in well publicised ways such as access to public transport, shopping and good secondary schools, but also in less publicised ways too. Chief among these is access to nursery education, too often forgotten by the parent considering the virtues of a particular house.

The availability of nursery school places varies wildly across London, for example. While Merton, Hounslow and Haringey top the league, providing nursery education for more than 70 per cent of three and four-year-olds; Westminster, Kensington and Chelsea, and Bexley languish near the bottom. Worst of all is Bromley, with places for only 17.7 per cent.

The national average of 47.9 per cent of children in nursery school compares with 95 per cent in Belgium and France, and 65 to 75 per cent in Germany, according to the Association of London Authorities.

### House-movers are counting the cost of patchy pre-school provision

For those opting for private education, the question might seem academic. But even those who have the money may resent fees of up to £2,000, especially when there is no proof that private nursery education is better than the state alternative.

There is no way of knowing because there are no tests at that age," says Ralph Laverder from the National Association for Primary Education. "So it is very annoying for parents to have to fork out."

In certain parts of the country they have no choice. Sue Dudley, a teacher and the mother of Thomas, aged three, and Sophia, aged eight months, lives in Gerrards Cross in Buckinghamshire, where she has yet to find any state nursery schools.

Instead, Ms Dudley is considering a nursery school which is part of a pre-prep school, which charges £50 a week. At £1,750 a year, while still cheaper than the other

local nursery which would have charged £175 for her two children, this is the sort of sum which could topple family budgets on mortgage repayments.

"When we moved to the area we didn't give it a thought," Ms Dudley says. "I suppose it was stupid. One investigates quite closely every other decision and how much it will cost, or the cost of decorating. But children is one area where one has a rosy glow. You don't have children because of the costs."

The provision of state-run nursery education would make a huge difference, she says. "One is comparing having to pay thousands of pounds, or getting nothing at the moment."

People in Redbridge, where only 28.7 per cent of children find nursery places, recount tales of parents faking addresses to get their children into the rare local schools which exist.

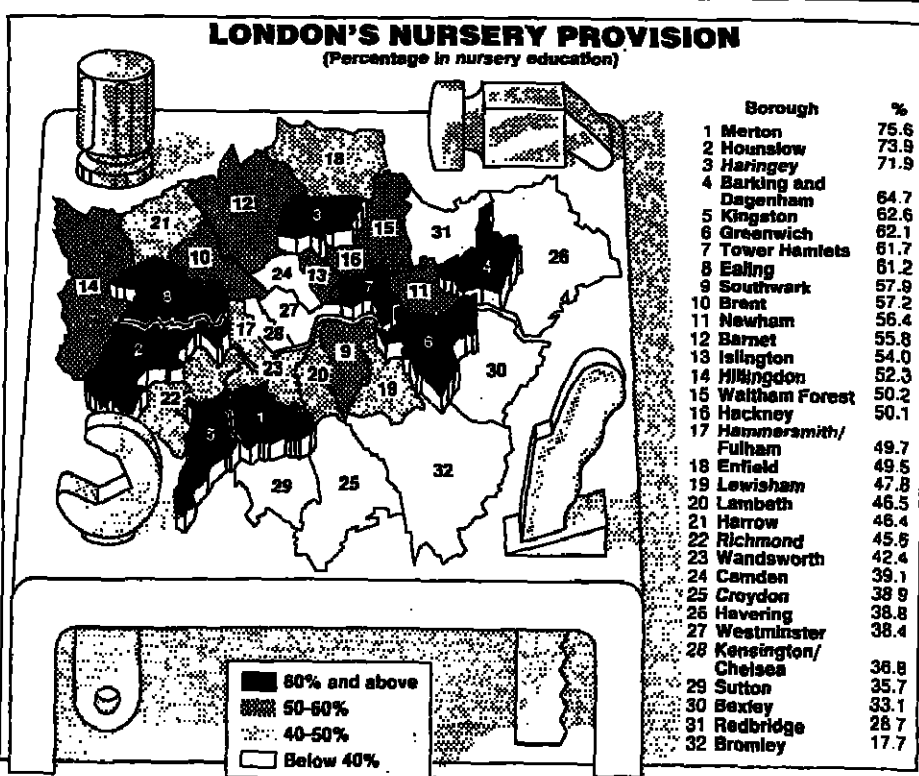
The Labour party's manifesto

to would be music to such parents' ears. If only it were to have an impact in time for their children. The "commitment to provide a nursery education for all three and four-year-olds whose parents want it, by the year 2000", is a central plank of the party's educational reforms.

In the manifesto Labour say they would make sure that local councils use the money they receive for nursery education to create new places. "We will also switch the £50 million funds earmarked for the Conservatives' failed City Technology College programme to increasing the numbers of places in nursery education."

The Liberal Democrats' manifesto matches Labour's commitment, promising parents a "pre-school educational experience for their child from the age of three. We would place a statutory obligation on local education authorities to ensure that this entitlement is met through nursery provision and where parents prefer by pre-school playgroups."

Nursery education rates



only a passing reference in the Conservative party manifesto, however: "We will continue to encourage the provision of nursery places by local education authorities, the voluntary and independent sectors."

Pending such changes, it is hard for parents to know which areas are best for nursery education. London's varied nursery figures were provided in a written answer to a parliamentary question in December. But there are no nationwide figures.

By law, education must be provided for children once they are five. Most begin school in the term following

their fifth birthday, so there is no legal requirement to provide nursery education. Mr Laverder says.

The answer is to ask locally, says Caroline McGhie, the author of the *London Commuter Guide* (Good Books, £9.99). "Nursery school provision is often very thin on the

ground in the country," she says, although a lively village with an active parish council tends to encompass a lively playground or nursery school as well.

Estate agents are ill-informed on the subject, Ms McGhie says. "It's best to go to the village and actually talk to people and pick up the social indicators."

A good state nursery school, in itself, will not affect property prices unless it is combined with a good secondary school. In Wandsworth, however, the fame of the Beatrix Potter state nursery school adds a premium of about 10 per cent to property prices in the area, says Emma Collins from estate agents Barnard Marcus.

Nursery schools not only affect the children, points out Ms McGhie. "They are also very important for mothers under pressure, who are feeling depressed and trapped with young children."

Her advice is for young parents to think carefully about the provision of nursery education before their next move. Estate agents should perhaps rephrase their platitudes. There are three things that matter when moving: location, location, and nursery education. It even rhymes.

RACHEL KELLY



# Last leap for the House of Lords?

If election pledges are kept, the second chamber could be nearer than ever to the brink.

Kate Muir asks peers their plans

Like most other Marxist institutions, the House of Lords has had its day. The 4th Earl Russell alerted peers to this and their true political nature in a speech to the House in 1978. "There should be universal leisure for all and a standing wage ought to be supplied... so that everybody becomes a leisured aristocrat — aristocrats are Marxists." He added that "naked bathing on beaches or in rivers ought to be universal", and finished with the prescient warning: "Mr Brezhnev and Mr Carter are really the same person." The earl's endearing dottiness was famed, one previous contribution being a speech on crocheting his trousers out of string.

Such speeches will soon be no more, if the hung Parliament or the Kinnock victory looming in some polls becomes reality. Eccentricity is threatened. Both Labour and the Liberal Democrats have pledged to abolish the House of Lords, yet no one is paying that fact the slightest attention.

Both parties are plotting to replace the Lords with an elected second chamber, a senate reflecting the regions and nations of the United Kingdom. The Liberal Democrats want 100 members and a two-year delaying power on non-economic bills; Labour wants 200 members and a five-year delay on "legislation adjudged to reduce civil liberties or human rights". The result will be 1,194 peers on the streets.

Naturally, many peers do not want to forgo their "turn to get their noses in the trough", as Roy Hattersley put it at Labour's press conference on constitutional reform last week. He has led the attack for years on what he describes as an "anachronism", but his own party's barons are less vehement in their condemnation. Secretly, they rather like the creature comforts and kudos afforded by the Lords.

Lord Cledwyn, a life peer and leader of the Opposition peers, does not leap with joy at the word abolition. "In the last 13 years the Lords has performed a very important function and is now accepted in Parliament and the country as



For the high jump? The (mostly) old peers seem to have plenty of life in them yet, but Labour and the Liberal Democrats plan to abolish their House and replace it with an elected second chamber

having produced a significant and constructive opposition," he says, skirting the point.

Others are more direct. "It really is God's waiting room, a marvelous place for old gentlemen to live out their last years chattering and reminiscing," says Lord Willis, the playwright and creator of the television series *Dixon of Dock Green* and *Black Beauty*. "I love the old place, but I mustn't let that kind of luxury blind me to its constitutional defects."

At 74, he suspects he is the longest-serving Labour life peer after 29 years in the House, and subscribes to the "it's undemocratic but it works" school of thought. He credits the creation of more life peers and the Thatcher years with perking up the House, which is now running at an average of 16 government defeats a year. He thinks the balance of power between the Lords and the Commons is about right, and points to the

problems Australia has with its elected second house flexing its muscles.

His views are echoed by Lord Waddington, the former Tory home secretary, now Lord Privy Seal. "A second House elected in the same way as the Commons would be no good to man or beast. If it is a potential rival to the Commons, it will not be long before it demands far greater powers."

Besides, a hundred or so members of a senate would rattle around on the red leather seats of the present chamber. There would be none of those wonderful sights such as a flock of judges fighting for space on the second woolsack during the state opening of Parliament. Who would fill the long tables in the three dining rooms, the members' library, and the shooting gallery in the basement, recently refurbished for £20,000?

Lord Willis, with his television eye, recognises such potential. "I

particularly like the introduction of a new peer, who is sandwiched between two sponsoring lords to protect him from any sword attacks. They march round the woolsack, go back to the bench, the peer raises a three-cornered hat three times to the king of England, king of Ireland and king of Scotland, none of which exists, and being careful not to trip on his red dressing gown, takes his place. It's ludicrous, and rather touching."

Other traditions may be flattened by reform, like the "moneybox" peers, aristocracy who need the £59 a day attendance and secretarial allowance. Some, however, seem plain greedy. A group of youngish hereditary peers, most with full-time jobs, are known as the "cocktail set". They zoom up in flash cars at about 6pm, deposit their girlfriends with a G and T in the bar, attend the chamber for a

few minutes and head off, having earned £59 tax free.

The "cocktail set" is much scorned by the older peers, who know that the real purpose of the House is sleep. In fact, Lord Willis is quick to deny this, pointing out that there are microphones in the back of each bench, and peers lean back to listen. Indeed, those with diminishing hearing may close their eyes to enhance perception. "The Lords adhere to an unwritten rule that sleeping should be done in the library. There is a room at the end which is supposed to be silent, but after 2.30pm, you find people recuperating from a fine lunch, and the snoring is loud," he says.

As a revising chamber for legislation, the Lords could live without reform. It is easy to attack logically, but it works. Those who attend are effective, and those who are uninterested stay at home, resulting in about 200 regulars. In 1968, the Lords had the sense to vote for a

reform bill ending voting membership for hereditary peers and turning over the work to life peers, but the measure was defeated in the Commons.

Of course, there are some Lords who want to do the opposite. The Conservative Lord Sudeley sounds as though he either has his teeth out (unlikely at 55) or his plums in, but he seems to be saying that the House of Lords will only become "an effective counterpoise to an over-powerful Commons if the creation of life peerages ceases". The old aristocracy, he adds with a sniff, believed that the possession of property was a trust which created duties to govern fairly.

The young aristocracy are of a different temperament. Lord Addington, the 27-year-old Liberal Democrat front-bench spokesman, finds himself, like many others, in the peculiar position of campaigning for his own abolition. To their credit, he does not find the older

peers at all patronising, and has gained confidence in debates. Eyebrows are raised, however, if he comes in wearing a sports jacket and cords.

Lords Addington and Sudeley exemplify the variety of types thrown up by the hereditary peerage system. John Wells, the author and playwright presently engaged in researching a book on the House of Lords, suggests that hereditary does not necessarily mean bad.

"Perhaps if your ancestors are used to being given space and treated with respect, that confidence comes down to you. Mind you, I doubt one would think the same about, say, the inherited skills of plumbers." He stops to point out that his theories are not fully developed, since he is presently researching the 13th century. "Still, the reformers have got to realise that they are not just pulling down a debating chamber. They are pulling down a cathedral."

## His brother's campaigner

Mordechai Vanunu has spent 2,000 days alone in an Israeli cell, but his cause is not forgotten

Strewn with works of literature and classical music tapes, Meir Vanunu's attic room in north London is more like a scholar's garret than the headquarters of an international human rights campaign.

But for four years Mr Vanunu's bedroom has doubled up as the office of the campaign to free his elder brother, Mordechai, the imprisoned Israeli nuclear technician who in 1986 blew the whistle on Israel's nuclear weapons capability.

When I arrive, Mr Vanunu is in the middle of an animated phone conversation with a contact and waves me over to a rocking chair. On top of the usual round of calls and letter writing, he has been spending his days in court watching Oscar Guerrero, the Colombian journalist who introduced Mordechai to *The Sunday Times* in 1986, try to squeeze £230,000 out of the newspaper.

The judge was unimpressed, dismissing Mr Guerrero's claim that he had been robbed of a scoop. Mr Guerrero emerged as a con-man who had manipulated a naive young man for his own gain, plucking him from idealistic obscurity in Australia and committing him to a path that ended in a lonely prison cell. If nothing else, Mr Vanunu says, the trial has illuminated the origins of the whole unhappy business.

Mr Guerrero led Peter Hounam of *The Sunday Times* to Sydney to interview Mordechai, who eventually flew to London to tell all. His disclosures about Dimona, the nuclear reactor centre in the Negev desert, appeared on October 5, 1986, and convinced experts that Israel had a stockpile of 100 to 200 warheads.

By then he had already disappeared, kidnapped in London and spirited back to Israel where he was convicted of espionage, treason and revealing state secrets, and sentenced to 18 years' imprisonment in a trial conducted behind closed doors. He has now spent 2,000 days in solitary confinement. Having disclosed the details of his brother's abduction by Mossad, Meir Vanunu now faces 15 years in jail in his home country.



Cautiously optimistic: Meir Vanunu in London

The last year has been one of mixed fortunes and omens for the Vanunu campaign. In February, the Israeli supreme court rejected Mordechai's appeal for a retrial, having earlier dismissed a petition to end his solitary confinement (the justification being that he might otherwise reveal yet more state secrets, including the details of his kidnapping). His lawyer reports that the prisoner's health is declining.

Supportive and strongly worded resolutions in the European parliament, the release of the western hostages and the peace process in the Middle East have made Meir Vanunu hopeful that some movement may be in sight. Protesters held the first ever demonstration outside Dimona in November, and the

respected Israeli magazine *Politika* devoted its March issue to the nuclear debate and the Vanunu case. Perhaps people are starting to listen.

As genial as he is single-minded, Meir Vanunu, now 35, talks easily about a predicament which would leave most speechless with frustration. When the news of Mordechai's disappearance broke in October 1986, he left a comfortable life in Boston and returned to Israel to find out what was going on.

Five years later he is still campaigning "more than full time" on his brother's behalf, making his pitch to those journalists and politicians who will listen, and marshalling the limited resources of the Vanunu Trust, which now has its own office in Euston. He is

to Mordechai what Jill Morrell was to John McCarthy, a bridge to the outside world.

But his job is trickier. Unlike Miss Morrell, he must convince the doubters that his brother is a hostage to principle, rather than a spy who got what was coming to him.

The Archbishop of Canterbury refused last month to take up the Vanunu case on the ground that "there is no government which would not put someone in prison for such an offence".

"Technically speaking, Mordechai broke Israeli law," his brother says. "But Israel acted illegally for many years, building its nuclear programme, and kept it secret from the Israeli people, from the elected members of parliament and from the international community."

The right to know, he says, is sometimes more important than the imperatives of national security. Thus Mordechai prised open the clenched fist of military censorship and whispered to the world the secret of the plant in the Negev desert, where he had worked as a technician for nine years. The world listened to the message and then forgot about the messenger.

"He brought us that evidence and it's there and we're using it today," Mr Vanunu says. "So why isn't there a bit of recognition? A man was definitely kidnapped from European soil and what did Britain do about it? Nothing."

Instead, the imprisoned whistle-blower spends his days in a cell measuring 6ft by 10ft, with a drain hole that doubles as a lavatory and shower, and takes exercise in a special yard away from other inmates at the Ashkelon prison 50 miles from Jerusalem — grim conditions which are beginning to take their toll in the form of dizzy spells.

Some rough justice has appointed Meir Vanunu his brother's keeper. "I want nothing more than to guide him into his new world, his new reality, and after the terrible trauma he has been through, help him to stand on his own two feet. That's the most I can do for him."

MATTHEW D'ANCONA

# HELP!



At 7.20pm on Friday 13th March, in the time it takes you to read this the Erzincan province of Turkey was devastated by an earthquake. 100,000 lost their homes. More than 450 people died; in just 30 seconds. The international relief services, including the Red Cross and the Red Crescent, need your support. Dial this Red Cross number for credit card donations. **0898-234 235** IT WON'T TAKE YOU A MINUTE

Cheques or postal orders to British Red Cross Society (Turkish Earthquake) 9, Grosvenor Crescent, London SW1X 7EJ.



## The trouble with Bafta

VIEWPOINT

Roger Graef



to members in the run-up to the final vote.

When, in the mid-1970s, the academy changed its name to include television, the awards system ballooned to take in a huge cross-section of programmes and technical crafts. The televised evenings groaned under their length. Over the years, Bafta has tried to bring the whole gigantic affair back to scale. Extracts from nominations were cut to the minimum, as were acceptance speeches. Recently, all the craft awards were hived off to a separate evening. But the central fault remains: like the television audience itself, the membership cannot keep up with the plethora of work about which its opinion is asked.

The trouble with Bafta is that of British film and television: it does not operate as one audio-visual community, as in France or Germany. Half the Bafta members work in film. Those in television split evenly between the BBC and ITV, and independents. As casualisation has risen, people feel even more isolated. Documentary makers see no common ground with drama or light entertainment. Administrators feel little in common with any of the makers. The technical grades stick together, while the engineers are yet another separate culture, and tend to join the Royal Television Society. Many good young programme makers don't join at all.

The general effect of this fragmentation can be seen in the successful political assaults on the BBC, ITV, and the British film industry, each of which fought their own corner over the years. It also undermines efforts to agree on what constitutes "quality television".

At Bafta, it means members vote on programmes, films and categories of work about which they may know next to nothing. The jury sees only the four nominated programmes. If the wrong episode

represents a series, or the final short-list is awry, there is little the jury can do. I have chaired a jury that refused to award any prize at all for both reasons.

This year, many of the most interesting documentaries were made in the BBC1 *Inside Story* strand, which was not even nominated for Best Factual Series, nor any of its films for Best Single Documentary. The BBC makes more Arts programmes than ITV and Channel 4 put together, but none made it into the final four.

This has implications for the future of British television. The vast majority of Bafta members were either working the ludicrous hours normal in film and television, or like most viewers, watching something else. BBC2's *The Second Russian Revolution*, won the RTS Journalism Award, but had very low audiences and no Bafta nomination.

Highly praised individual programmes are often not repeated for a year, so it is pure chance that Bafta members will have seen them on transmission. Perhaps old series keep winning, not through bias, but because they may be the only titles many film members recall.

Bafta film members also insist on including American films in the British Academy Awards. The result is that British films stand less and less chance of winning in their own country. This is unnecessary, and unfair. The BBC, Channel 4 and ITV also produce films that win in many festivals. (*Black Velvet* won an International Emmy and a NY Film Festival award, but was not nominated for Bafta.)

Awards matter, our film and television are in crisis, with investment scarce, and competition from cable and satellite. Sadly, there is no correlation between audience size and programme quality, especially in documentary, drama and comedy. Repeats of nominated or winning programmes would draw fresh viewers, keen to share the jury's choice.

For hard-pressed executives, the prospect of the prestige of an award can be a valuable incentive against the safety of familiar names and tested formulae. Unless we promote risk-taking and quality, we will soon turn out what the Americans call "product", and the awards ceremony will become just another trade show. And series like *GBH* and *Inside Story* may not be made.

Roger Graef has been a Bafta member for 20 years, serving on its council and many juries. He won the 1982 Bafta award for Best Documentary Series.

## Woman in a man's world

Robin Hunt talks to Rosie Boycott, editor of the British version of *Esquire*, which is fighting to survive after a wobbly launch and in the face of stiff competition

Those believing that with the demise of the Iron Curtain the days of the show-trial are over should look no further than *Esquire* magazine's letters page this month.

"After some disappointment with the early issues," writes Ian Bentley of Essex, remembering "half-empty pages, non-features featuring nonentities and cartoons which just weren't funny", the magazine is now close to an ideal balance of content and format.

But for Martha Warren of Norwich, there is continued disappointment. "Here I was, all excited that my favourite American magazine was going to be published here in England... Too bad most of the women in the British version are either photographed naked or written about with regrettable misogyny. It is not possible to attain your market value without being so offensive!"

"The quality of the letters hasn't been fantastically good," says *Esquire*'s new editor, Rosie Boycott. "But they have started to improve."

Sadly, the magazine's difficulties do not stop with its correspondence. However, having launched in this country last year with an eccentric American editor (Lee Eisenberg) and following with a bland British one (Alex Finer), *Esquire* has at last found a leader who might yet save our most precarious-looking men's magazine.

Ms Boycott arrived at *Esquire* with a strong track record in magazines and a lot of experience of life with a capital L. *Spare Rib* founder, reformed alcoholic and author of a book on her addiction, editor in Kuwait of a magazine for Arab women, editor of *Discount Trader* magazine, commissioning editor on *The Sunday Telegraph* deputy editor of *Harpers & Queen*. Her private life tends to the exotic too, with tales of strange animals as pets, as well as a decidedly literary set, taking up temporary residence in her home.

She interviewed the boxer Chris Eubank "eight or nine times" for a piece in next month's *Esquire*, and her eyes have the look of a David Hockney swimming pool as she thinks about it.

Character she has. And she looks happy behind her *Esquire* desk. "I adore magazines, they are the nicest medium, the whole process of putting them together is heavenly."

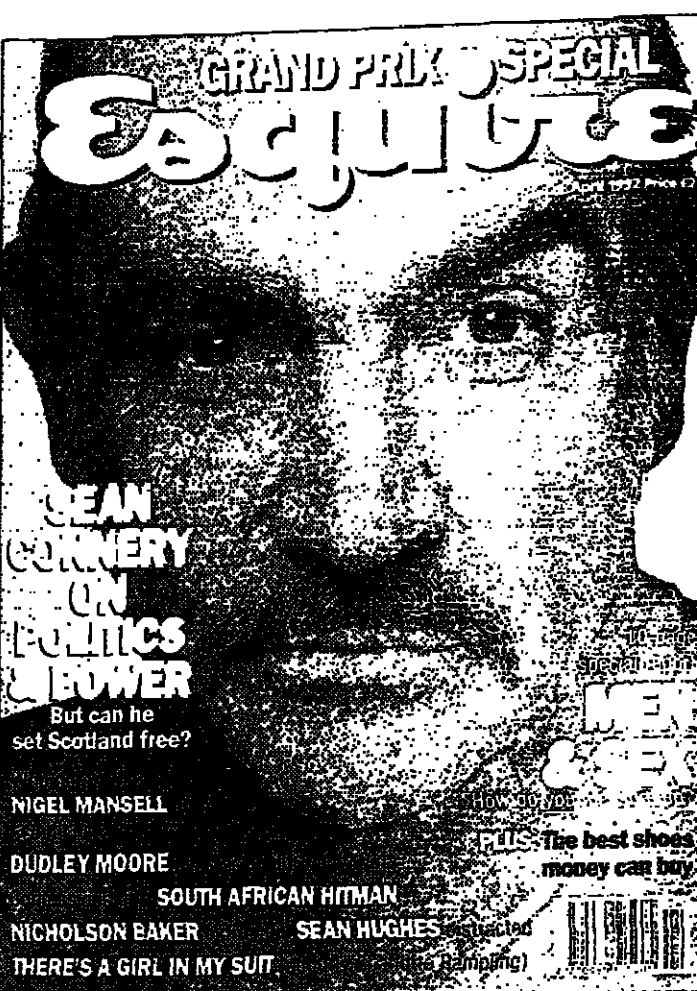
But for now, heaven can wait in print. Ms Boycott has a tough task. While its arch-rival, Condé Nast's *GQ*, muscled down under Alexandra Shulman to become a successful, brusque, fashion-heavy read (Ms Shulman's reward was the editor's desk at *Vogue*), *Esquire* meandered through the backwaters of its long heritage.

*Esquire* comes with the kind of track record that press officers would buy five lunches at the Connaught for. Next year it will be 60. In America it has long been associated with high-quality writers — from Hemingway and Dorothy Parker in the Thirties to Tom Wolfe, Norman Mailer and Truman Capote in the Sixties.

When the magazine arrived in Britain its successful American editor came with it. Lee Eisenberg was a feisty pocket dynamo of sass. Mr Eisenberg would explain that the meeting-place of a fashion spread and Saul Bellow short story came when "the fashion pictures are of the human condition..."

Mr Eisenberg neither set the lead nor came up with the headline-grabbing literary journalism that these days *Vanity Fair* seems to corner. Mr Eisenberg never really came to grips with the British market. His vision of it was, at best, that of someone who had watched too many repeats of *Brideshead Revisited* on public service broadcasting.

Ms Boycott has a question. "Why are there no Americans in the British market? There are Australians, piles of Canadians, New Zealanders. The British can



Connery to the rescue? The cover of the April edition

go to America but it doesn't translate. Perhaps it is something to do with America being bigger and grander and Americans coming here with a sense of how to do it whereas we go to America with a sense that we are prepared to learn and maybe that's what Canadians and Australians do in Britain, they come open-minded. Whether the answer is or not, Lee Eisenberg is back in New York.

A high-level *Esquire* launch in 1991 only boosted *GQ*'s sales, and *Esquire*'s identity remained obscure, which nowadays is a shame. "I think we're going to a less seducible audience than our competitors," says Ms Boycott. "The people who buy *GQ* a lot do so because it is fashion-orientated, the kind of guy whose impulse is: 'If I buy that black jacket I might pull that girl.' I think you will see a different attitude to women here."

It will be a battle though: last month's *GQ* sold 12,000 copies

more than its average sale, "because we're doing it right," says its editor, Michael Vermuelen.

Ms Boycott believes *Esquire* still needs the good writers. Soon they will come via monthly chunks of new novels in collectable packs — Ian McEwan first. "We can't be so grand any longer to think we can publish young unknowns," she says.

"People get an idea in their head and you have to change that," says Ms Boycott as she tries to turn *Esquire* around. "We had real problems, the magazine was full of American hang-ups, it all smelt of a magazine that didn't have to work on the newsstand," she says. In America the majority of *Esquire*'s sales are on subscription. "You tended to go about 45 pages in the old *Esquire* before there was anything about British life, this month, now, England."

So next month Ms Boycott begins to redress the balance with the BBC's John Simpson writing on why he hates the United States.

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# Wisdom from the soundbite scientists

MICHAEL DOBBS

CHIEF of Staff at Conservative Central Office in 1987, he is now a successful writer of political thrillers with a knack of timing them well. His fourth novel, a sequel to the televised *House of Cards*, features an election campaign and a constitutional clash between a new prime minister and a king. It will be published on the Monday after polling day.

Relaxed on screen and full of strategic insight, he combines advertising and political expertise. In the 1980s his career alternated between Conservative Central Office and Saatchi & Saatchi. He is one of the few to reject the received view that Labour "won" the 1987 campaign, but he was in charge of the Tory effort at the time.

One of his most unenviable tasks was to present Mrs Thatcher with polling evidence about her own popularity. She virtually never spoke to him again. Under Mr Major he is back in favour with the party and advises informally. **Appearing on:** BBC TV's *The Vote Race*, Channel 4 News, and *The World Tonight*. **Voting intention:** Conservative. **Prediction:** Conservatives squeaking home.

BRENDAN BRUCE

ANOTHER former top Tory official, but now hated by many in the party hierarchy. Earlier this year he refused to let him in to the young Conservative conference.

He had a difficult 18 months as director of communications in 1989 to 1991. An advertising man who impressed Lord Young, he was discredited by his enemies within Central Office as a 'Mars bar salesman'. He is an ardent Thatcherite and was soon purged by the new party chairman, Chris Patten after he went.

He is determined to appear as non-partisan as a pundit but this is not appreciated by party officials who regard him as 'off the leash'. They were livid after he told Channel 4 news that no sensible person in the Conservative party believed Labour would actually increase public spending by £37



Talking heads... some of the broadcasters' favourite election pundits, from the left: Michael Dobbs, Brendan Bruce, David Butler, Ivor Crewe and Robert Worcester

Some are professors who can pack a verbal punch, others are former party insiders who fell from favour.

**Martin Rosenbaum** gives a guide to the broadcasters' favourite pundits and their personal voting intentions

billions. His astute brain and insider's knowledge mean he gives good value on television.

He has also timed a book for the election. *Images of Power*, explaining how to gain power through image making, has just been published and gone into re-print. **Appearing on:** BBC TV's *On The Record* and that shows to plug the book.

**Voting intention:** Conservative. **Prediction:** Conservatives largest party, but without overall majority.

BARRY DELANEY

ONE of Labour's best-known supporters in advertising, he is believed within the industry to have written more political ads in the 1980s than anyone else.

As well as work for trade unions and Labour local authorities, he wrote Labour's party political broadcasts from 1987 to 1991. Brought in by Peter Mandelson, he fell out with John Underwood, who succeeded Mr Mandelson as director of communications. He now gives the party informal advice.

He comes from a working-class family of five brothers and three sisters, all of whom have worked in

advertising and several, like him, with notable success. Now creative partner of Delaney Fletcher Slaymaker Delaney & Bozell, his talents are widely admired. He admits that the Labour link has not gone down well with many actual and potential clients. Brother Tim was a key adviser to James Callaghan in 1979 and brother Simon has directed Labour political broadcasts. **Appearing on:** BBC TV's *The Vote Race*, and *The World Tonight*. **Voting intention:** Labour. **Prediction:** Labour majority of 10-20 seats.

DAVID BUTLER

THE founding father of psephology with a 40-year history of election analysis. He knows everything there is to know about every post-war election, with a memory for the sort of facts that are lucky to make it into other people's books as footnotes. Retiring this year as a Fellow of Nuffield College, Oxford, he has written a book about every election since 1951.

Once virtually synonymous with television psephology, he appears less frequently on the screen as

programme-makers prefer to use younger commentators. From 1950 to 1979 he appeared on television on election night, but since 1983 he has been on radio. Now unlikely to be used to comment on the latest polls, he is still everyone's pick when it comes to drawing or debunking historical comparisons.

**Appearing on:** Radio 4 on election night. **Voting intention:** "I'm not yet sure. I'm genuinely non-partisan, although I tend to the soggy middle-of-the-road."

**Prediction:** Fifteen per cent chance of a Tory majority, 70 per cent hung parliament, 15 per cent Labour majority.

IVOR CREWE

HE has the knack, rare among academics, of being able to talk clearly and concisely, in punchy language and sticking to the important points. This makes him a master of the television soundbite. Professor of government at Essex University, he is another veteran election observer, at home with figures without being obsessed by them. In the early and mid 1980s

he was a prominent advocate of the argument that on demographic grounds Labour had a bleak future and the centre a rosy one. He has also had an acrimonious academic dispute with John Curtice and others on "class de-alignment". Professor Crewe's view is that class has become much less important as a determinant of voting behaviour.

He advised Labour in the 1970s and was involved in the early stages of the SDP.

**Appearing on:** Channel 4 Daily. **Voting intention:** "You can't be serious asking me that."

**Prediction:** Fifteen per cent chance of a Tory victory, 60 per cent hung parliament, 25 per cent Labour victory.

ANTHONY KING

PROBABLY the least statistically-minded of the academic pundits most frequently seen on TV. This means he is favoured by programme makers who think, as one BBC man put it, "that most British adults can't cope with a number beyond today's date".

Like Ivor Crewe he is a professor of government at Essex University, and a long-standing member of the

election watchers' club. He co-authored David Butler's books on the 1964 and 1966 elections. But he is not an election-obsessed psephologist, rather a political scientist whose academic work goes much wider than electoral behaviour. His admirers argue that he is particularly good at understanding and presenting the broader picture.

**Appearing on:** BBC *Breakfast Time* and (on the night) BBC TV. **Voting intention:** "I keep that entirely to myself, but I'm not a strong partisan of any party."

**Prediction:** Hung parliament most probable but impossible to say whether Conservative or Labour largest party.

JOHN CURTICE

THE top number-cruncher among the TV pundits. Modern computer methods have made psephology increasingly statistical, and for Mr Curtice elections and polls provide an enticing mass of raw figures to be pummeled into shape by his machines.

Widely admired for the technical quality of his prolific work at Strathclyde University, his TV appearances are increasingly fre-

quent. But his pundit's career has been impeded by his straggling and undisciplined haircut.

One television producer says: "The problem is he looks mad, although actually he's quite normal." His rapid closely-argued delivery does give him the air of a mad professor addressing his brightest students. But many in television think him more interesting than some other pundits.

One admirer comments: "What John says is original. The others only say what any half-intelligent person thinks anyway, although they talk as if they've just done a research study which proves it." **Appearing on:** BBC TV's *On The Record*, the *Today* programme and (on the night) BBC TV. **Voting intention:** "Irrelevant."

**Prediction:** Hung parliament with Labour largest party.

ROBERT WORCESTER

CHAIRMAN of MORI, he has the highest media profile of any pollster. Some have no desire to become media figures, some are considered by programme-makers to have a poor on-screen presence. Mr Worcester is usually the broadcasters' first choice when comments are required from a pollster. He sees himself as a political scientist, not just an opinion researcher.

A long-established figure in the industry, he was responsible for Labour's private polling for six general elections up to and including 1987, but after some unhappiness Labour have switched to NOP. He has also done polling for the Green Party and the not entirely serious Rainbow Alliance party.

Although he was written a book entitled *We British*, he is still an American citizen and manages to maintain the air of an outsider looking in.

**Appearing on:** Channel 4 News, Sky, TV-am. **Voting intention:** Democrat in November, Tsongas in the primaries.

**Prediction:** 70 per cent chance of Labour majority with hung parliament, 20 per cent Labour with narrow majority, 10 per cent Tory narrow majority.

With scoops rare and politicians dull, have TV and the papers had a good campaign?

## The dogs that didn't bark

Down in Wiltshire we were expecting some dramatic and significant disclosures from the metropolis on the last Sunday of the campaign. There were hints, first in *MediaWatch*, then in *The Sun* and finally in Saturday's *Independent*, that a smear campaign was about to start and that several leading political figures could be involved.

In fact the stories did not break, although Andrew Neil, editor of *The Sunday Times*, told *First on Sunday* that during the previous evening newspapers had been awash with rumours about how one story or another was about to appear. But the dogs did nothing in the night-time. "That was the curious incident," as Sherlock Holmes remarked.

Was political pressure exerted on friendly editors to hold off, at least until after the election for fear of a backlash at the polls? Or were editors unmoved either by the fear of statutory curbs on the press or by the fear of astronomical libel damages if the stories were challenged?

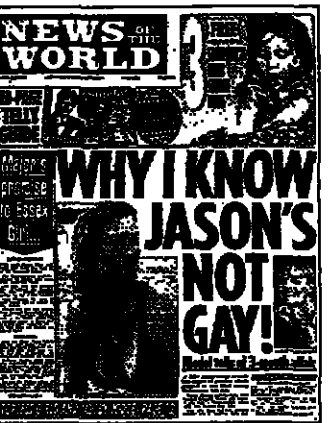
Perhaps it was a combination of these things, but I am left wondering whether the press is doing its job properly if stories which I am told are "all over London" are kept secret from the rest of us.

### PRESS

The newspapers are not emerging from the election with enhanced reputations. The reporting of the campaign by the broadsheets has been excellent, and remarkably fair whatever the political complexion of the paper. The opinion polls have played a starring role although they are failing to sing the same tune. As for all these "polls of polls", I am reminded of MORI chairman Bob Worcester's rebuke to *Evening Standard* political editor Bob Carvel who had worked one out since the paper couldn't afford its own poll at the time. "It won't be the most accurate."

The contribution of the leading columnists to understanding the current election has also been considerable, notably Hugo Young in *The Guardian*, Peregrine Worsthorne in *The Sunday Telegraph*, Peter Jenkins in *The Independent*, Joe Rogaly in *The Financial Times* and Peter Riddell in *The Times*.

But the tabloids do not seem to have played a major role. An academic study recently suggested that readers of Tory papers were more likely to vote Tory than non-readers and, even more, that read-



Scoop for Daily Express while Jason edges election off the NoW

ers of Labour newspapers were much more likely to vote Labour than non-readers. "The newspaper effect is statistically and substantively significant," says one study. In fact, according to MORI, a sizeable number of *Daily Express* readers were switching to Labour last week.

The tabloids were faithful to the party they support but in most cases their heart was not really in the fight; they cared more about the circulation battle than the political one. So this Sunday, the *News of the World* led on "Why I know Jason's not gay." The *People* starred another actor, "David Jason's secret heartache," and the *Sunday Mirror* plunged on "Why Di's dad hated Fergie." The *Sunday Express* revealed the schizophrenia in its soul, dividing the front page equally between a for-

mal lead on "Owen can do it for Major" and that old chestnut "Truth about the Royal Marriage." Among the tabloids only the *Mail on Sunday* had an outright political lead, "Owen: I back Major."

While the *Daily Express* was the first newspaper, tipped off by the Conservative Central Office, to reveal the true story behind the Labour party's health service broadcast, there have been few other tabloid scoops in the political arena. Perhaps the campaign had just been going on too long. Certainly the floating voters I am canvassing in Wiltshire regard the television screen as the forum where the battle for their own votes will be won or lost. Newspapers are never even mentioned.

CHARLES WINTOUR

## Measure of the swing to glitz

### TELEVISION

The return of the swingometer to the BBC's election coverage on Thursday night says something about the 1992 election campaign, though it is not that the BBC has run out of ideas and is now looking backwards for inspiration.

The swingometer made its debut in the 1959 election, though it had a trial run four years earlier, and the contraption was last seen heralding the Thatcher era as long ago as 1979.

Now the swingometer is back, but it is no longer a simple board with a cardboard "hand". Tomorrow it will be driven by Peter Snow, but its real engine room is a computer, producing everything from percentage swings to digital numbering, flashing lights and an image of the door to 10 Downing Street, revolving as the results come in to admit either John Major or Neil Kinnock.

This is the swingometer a metaphor for television election coverage. It was just as informative worked by hand: worked by computers it is perhaps slightly faster and a lot more glitzy. But does glitz and high-tech wizardry make for a better informed electorate?

There is no use complaining about "boring" television coverage of this campaign: the parties made it dull and the Conservatives in

particular made it, for them, disastrous. But in the lifetime of the swingometer, elections have escaped from the electorate, a television camera has come between those who vote and those who seek election.

Perhaps that hardly matters. Public meetings long ago were never as well attended as myth would have us believe, so the argument that television is the ultimate democratic device is a powerful one. But television's usage is the more relevant issue: who is in charge? The mere existence of television has enabled political parties to set the agenda as never before, for politicians know that television has an insatiable appetite for visual images.

Mr Major's soapbox, seemingly a throwback, was the most ironic device of the campaign. It was not primarily a means of speaking to a crowd, it was a prop for a soundbite. Television loved it because it altered the context, refreshed the backdrop, provided cameramen with the best of both worlds: a static subject against a moving background of faces and gestures.

Television itself, abetted by the press, provided most of the cam-



High-tech help: the BBC's swingometer, last seen in 1979

paign's crowd scenes. Ordinary people briefly interviewed after Messrs Major, Kinnock and Ashdown had sped away talked of seeing the top of a head, if anything. Much like the Boat Race, we had a better view at home.

Cameramen and reporters can only pass on what they see. The parties and the videotape editors do the rest. The parties hid certain figures not considered vote-getting and timed their media conferences for early morning so as to ensure that they set the day's agenda. The editors played safe. They transmitted whatever they knew the "other side" had, a classic safety-in-numbers device.

All is not lost. With the agenda set and rehearsed, television was left to distinguish itself with analysis. Here the BBC scored heavily, for all its terror of bias accusations.

The *Nine o'Clock News* consistently outshone *News At Ten* by attempting to interpret developments. In that respect John Cole, the BBC's political editor, showed himself to be the biggest of all the retirement losses that will follow this election.

ITV did little analysis and the BBC gained in another area, by having a daily phone-in on television and radio simultaneously. These programmes produced the only spontaneous combustion of the campaign, the only times when viewers and listeners imposed their agenda on politicians.

If television has become the sole direct link between the people and the politicians, it cannot be long before we use our remote controls to vote. The technology exists, and isn't that all that matters?

PETER BARNARD

## Non-stick smears

Political sex-scandal rumours were rife, but they were just too outrageous to print, say conscientious editors

Newspapers billed it as the "dirtiest" election campaign ever. Readers were told to expect sex smears and scandals involving leading politicians each morning with their breakfast. Dossiers were being prepared, we were informed two months ago, by dirty tricks departments at party headquarters to be unleashed and splashed across tabloid front pages at critical moments during the campaign.

Today, with just two more press days to go before the nation casts its vote, the promised exposés have not yet materialised.

It is not as if there were a shortage of targets: newspaper offices and television newsrooms have been buzzing with persistent rumours about the sex lives - past and present - of several senior Conservative, Labour and Liberal Democrat candidates.

Speculation about which Sunday newspaper was prepared to print what rumoured scandal reached fever pitch on Friday, with editors biting their nails with worry about being "scooped" by their rivals, and their political prey, stalked for months, scarcely breathing for fear of exposure. Dossiers on at least five famous politicians were believed to have been locked away in editors' top drawers ready for immediate use.

"On Friday we thought it was going to be smear Sunday, but it wasn't," says Andreas Whitman Smith, editor of *The Independent*. "Now it is too close to election day for a smear to really affect the outcome. On Sunday it might have done. Contrary to all predictions, I think this election campaign will be remembered for being clean and boring."

So why have the tabloid editors been holding their fire? The threat of government regulation and statutory protection of privacy made explicit in both the Tory and Labour manifestos has been a significant deterrent. So has the fear of retaliation by a paper in the opposing political camp.

"There are many rumours, and most of them are about rumours. But if there is the slightest grain of truth in any of them, and I should be surprised if there were, it would appear that for every assertion, true or false, that can be made by Tweedledum about the sexual proclivities of MPs, the same assertions can be made by Tweedledum," says Lord McGregor of Durris, who warned newspapers last February in the wake of the Paddy Ashdown affair to avoid mixing political reporting with "irrelevant commentaries" on the private lives of politicians in his capacity as chairman of the Press Complaints Commission.

If *The Sun* were to splash the sexual peccadilloes of a prominent Labour politician all across its front page, its "scoop" would be sure to



Pat Chapman: rumours were 'more interesting than the papers'

provoke an instant response from the *Daily Mirror*: a sex scandal involving a senior Tory. Once one paper did it, all the rest would follow in an avalanche.

But the absence of sex smears from tabloid headlines has much to do with lack of hard evidence, according to several tabloid newspaper editors. Bill Hagerty, editor of *The People*, says: "I've heard all the rumours but I have seen no proof. Journalists are highly susceptible to rumour, but the evidence just isn't watertight."

Pat Chapman, editor of the *News of the World* and another member of the commission, says: "I don't believe anyone really has a story ready to publish. On Saturday night, every editor thought every other newspaper had a story. We thought the *Sunday Mirror* did, but they didn't. They probably thought we did, but we didn't. The rumours are far more interesting than the newspapers."

But both Ms Chapman and Mr Hagerty believe the threat of statutory control posed by the Calcutt report into privacy and the Press has had significant influence over what rumours the tabloids feel able to report. "Once a story is ready to go, when all the facts are there and it has been proofed for libel, then a lot of thought is put into whether we proceed with it in the light of the Press Complaints Commission," says Ms Chapman.

Mr Hagerty says, "You can't blame it all on the commission but there is no doubt that it has changed the complexion of the Press, and rightly so."

Both editors say they would only print something scandalous about a politician if it was something that

made him or her unfit to hold high office. "If I found out that a senior politician had been indiscreet, I would find it difficult to justify printing it," Mr Hagerty says.

Once news of Mr Ashdown's affair broke following a story in *The Scotsman* about an injunction issued by the Liberal Democrat leader, the PCC was quick to warn newspapers against printing sex smears. "The tabloids may finally have realised that statutory regulation is far worse than missing a story," Mr Whitman Smith says.

But Andrew Neil, editor of *The Sunday Times*, said the reticence of the tabloids had "nothing to do with the commission". Not only were most of the sex-smear rumours he had heard "too outrageous" to be printable and unlikely to stand up in the libel courts, but tabloids were also "intimidated" after watching Mr Ashdown's popularity increase following the disclosure of his affair.

"I think the Tory tabloids realise that if they smear Ashdown, they will add to the Lib Dem vote and the Tories will lose even more seats than they are going to lose already," says Mr Neil. "It would backfire on any paper that did it; it would just be counter-productive."

Nonetheless Lord McGregor says he will be "fearful" until the election is over. Only one former Conservative MP, exposed by *The Sun*, has resigned from office after being caught by police in an act of indecency. "I think the reporting has so far been acceptable and has kept, to a very large extent, within the requirements of the industry's code of practice," he says.

MELINDA WITTSTOCK



# The right time to be a publisher

Graduates entering book publishing may expect to deal with the finer points of literary style. However, instead of discussing smile and metaphor, they are more likely to talk the trade jargon of production and promotion — blurb, dumpbun, spinner, four-colour separation, spine widths, shelftalkers and TV tie-ins.

Today, young publishers must prepare for a competitive business career where numeracy may be as important as literacy. Book sales have held up well in the recession, although staff levels have been trimmed. Certainly 1992 is an interesting time to enter the industry. Retail price maintenance is under pressure and new fiction is being launched in paperback. But how to get in against fierce competition?

Sally Clark, Penguin Books' personnel manager, says: "We do not have a formal graduate recruitment programme but we do recruit graduates into secretarial roles. You do not have to be an ace shorthand typist. Competent keyboard skills would be OK."

Sue Kendall, the personnel manager at Random Century, parent company of Jonathan Cape, Chatto & Windus and Hutchinson, says: "Nearly all Random's editorial staff come in as secretaries who have done an office skills course."

Both companies receive many speculative job applications, a com-

mon way into an industry where many jobs are not advertised. Ms Kendall says this approach is worth trying. She says: "We are all looking to save money and if we can employ somebody without paying for advertising or using an agency, then we will do so." She recommends "writing to a named person, having some idea of what you want to do, and being realistic about what to expect".

A publishing qualification is regarded as a bonus for graduates, not a necessity. Miss Clark believes "a postgraduate diploma in publishing can give you an edge as you have an overview of the whole publishing system", and Penguin has recruited students from Watford College in Hertfordshire.

Job-seekers must do their homework. Ms Kendall would not expect a new graduate to know about all the books coming out of a publishing group but believes they should know the different imprints — the publisher's names on the cover. "It is surprising how many graduates do not know," she says. "All they have to do is some research in a bookshop".

Nearly all publishing hopefuls initially want to work in editorial

but most jobs are in production, marketing, sales and accounting. Caroline Hird, the marketing director at Kogan Page, a business books publisher, says: "Book marketing people need copywriting skills, a creative outlook and, increasingly an understanding of direct marketing." She liaises with editorial and sales departments and works on promotion, publicity and direct mail campaigns.

She urges graduates not to concentrate exclusively on high-profile fiction and not to be deterred by competition. "It is not true that getting in is supremely difficult," she says. "There are not a huge number of jobs as publishing companies are becoming leaner, but if you go about it in the right way, you can do it. Research the stages of production of a book and bone up on the catalogue before the interview."

Editors need a mix of the organisational and the creative. Alison Berry, the publishing director of Red Fox children's paperbacks and Tellastory children's books on tape, says: "You are the central liaison person in the publishing process. You must be sensi-

tive to get the best out of an author but you also have to make tough, unemotional decisions and be prepared to tell a writer, 'Look, this has not worked'."

When recruiting she looks for "somebody with a genuine commitment to children's books, somebody who still enjoys children's books as an adult, and who can make intelligent comments about the books they might see at interview, rather than giving them a cursory glance".

Training is largely on the job, supplemented by short courses. Most jobs are in London, Oxford, Cambridge and Glasgow, and opportunities for science graduates are in scientific, technical and medical publishing. Full-time jobs are few as publishing companies make more use of freelancers.

However, Astron Appointments, a publishing recruitment consultancy, describes prospects as "moving slowly in the right direction". Salaries start at about £10,000, and two in every three people in publishing are now female.

More details: Publishers Association, 19 Bedford Square, London WC1B 3HF; Society of Young Publishers, c/o J. Whitaker & Sons, 12 Dyott Street, London WC1A 1DF; Book House Training Centre, 45 East Hill, London SW18 2DZ; Directory of Publishing 1992 (Cassell); Publishing courses: Exeter College of Art and Design, London College of Printing, Napier Polytechnic in Edinburgh, Oxford Polytechnic, Watford College.



Tips from Karen Holden: "Be brash and brave. Make contacts"

## PROFILE

### Graduate's progress

KAREN HOLDEN is an editorial assistant at Hutchinson, which employs 20 people in editorial, production and publicity. Derek Morgan writes. Ms Holden, a 27-year-old languages graduate, first worked for a computer company. "I had been told it might be easier to get into publishing with some general business experience," she says. "I am not sure I would subscribe to that view now."

Persistence, temporary work and a two-week typing course resulted in a publicity assistant's post at Pan Macmillan. A year later Ms Holden became secretary to the editorial director at a Macmillan imprint, Picador. When her boss moved, she followed, becoming editorial assistant at Hutchinson.

Ms Holden works mainly on Radius, a science, politics and biography list, but has done text-editing on Sir Michael Tippett's autobiography, *Those Twentieth Century Blues*, and worked on *From the House of War*, by the television journalist John Simpson. She regularly attends book launch receptions. Another attraction is researching new fields.

Her advice to would-be publishers: "Be brash and brave. Build up contacts. Read *The Bookseller*. Get any freelance experience you can, such as proof-reading. Once you are in, show yourself willing to take on whatever is thrown at you."

071-481 4481

## PUBLIC APPOINTMENTS

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071-782 7828

### DIRECTOR OF SOCIAL SERVICES

Up to £71,000

**Essex County Council**  
Social Services

This Chief Officer position is the principal adviser on the development of social services in Essex and is accountable for their management. The post will become vacant upon the retirement of Maurice Hawker at the end of this year.

The Department has a gross revenue budget in excess of £117 million per annum and over 9000 staff, with an emphasis on delivering a highly personalised, quality service through five area offices, to meet the needs of each varying community.

In a national context, planning and implementing change resulting from the operational implications of new legislation is of paramount importance, whilst at a County level, Social Services plays a vital part in our Action Plan, which identifies important issues and the actions needed to shape services into the next millennium.

Positive changes within the contexts of the Community Care Act, the decentralisation of decision making, the drive for personal care management, the possibility of more local community access points and the issues raised by contracting out some services, all ensure maximum career challenge.

You should have a sound working knowledge of local authority Social Services gained at a very senior level and a thorough understanding of the other County services, how they interact and are delivered.

Additionally you should be an excellent communicator and motivator, and be a first class ambassador for this major Authority, with the ability to innovate, manage and achieve change.

We offer a free lease car, BUPA and generous assistance with relocation expenses. For a full information pack contact County Personnel Officer, Essex County Council, PO Box 11, County Hall, Chelmsford CM1 1LX. Telephone (0245) 430283.

Closing date: 30 April 1992.

### Chief Executive and Clerk to the Magistrates' Courts' Committee

C. £45,000

Following a review of the organisation and structure of the administration of the Magistrates' Courts' Service, both nationally and in Hertfordshire, major changes are planned.

As a result, the Courts' Committee wish to appoint a full time Chief Executive and Clerk to the Magistrates' Courts' Committee to head the management of the Service. This is a new post, designed to meet the challenge of implementing the decisions of the Courts' Committee in this time of change and to work with the existing Justices' Clerks' to achieve an effective and efficient service, within the constraints of cash limiting and in line with the proposals set out in the government white paper.

For this demanding post you should be a motivated and highly competent senior manager with a positive

and professional attitude who would in turn motivate others.

It is essential that you are qualified as a solicitor or barrister, and a knowledge of the Magistrates' Courts' Service would be an advantage, a management qualification would be desirable as would previous experience of senior administrative management.

The appointment will be on a three year fixed contract with an option to renew and will attract a relocation allowance, a leave car and participation in the local government pension scheme.

For further information and application details, please telephone Mrs Helen Pooley, Acting Clerk to the Magistrates' Courts' Committee, on (0925) 556530 or write to her at Bayley Hall, Hertford SG14 1EL.

Hertfordshire Magistrates' Courts' Service

### Administration Manager

The Biochemical Society wishes to appoint an Administration Manager based at its London office. The post will involve the servicing of the Society's governing Executive Committee and Council and relative administrative and executive functions including the office management of the London premises. The successful candidate is likely to have some experience in a committee based structure and be able to demonstrate sound organisational skills.

The Administration Manager reports directly to the Society's chief executive and, after a period of assimilation, will be expected to work under minimum supervision. Salary will be negotiable dependent on qualifications and experience but in any event will not be less than £17,000. An extremely attractive Pension and Health Insurance Scheme is available. Further details can be obtained from Glynis D Jones, Executive Secretary, The Biochemical Society, 99 Portland Place, London, W1N 3AL. Telephone 071-580 5530 Fax 071-323 1136. Letters of application, which should be accompanied by full career details, should be received by 15th April 1992.

### HEALTH SCREEN MANAGER

To manage Health Screen Department in new Clinic

With knowledge of Japanese-style Health Care and experience of Japanese Health Check/Ken Ko Shin Dan. Day Clinic situated in Hendon specialising in Radiology and Endoscopy with Health Screening Department. Required to work with UK and Japanese doctors. Japanese Language and familiarity with Japanese lifestyle essential. Competitive salary offered to the right candidate.

For further details please write to or telephone Mr Yamada/Miss Katy Thomas at Anglo-Japanese Health Care Limited 234 Hendon Way LONDON NW4 3NE Telephone: 081 202 6222

### SECRETARY/ PERSONAL ASSISTANT

National Voluntary Organisation associated with care of people within the Community has vacancy for mature, experienced Secretary for work concerning non medical assistance in hospitals. PA duties will involve postholder with varied projects.

Applicants should have good Sec skills (S/H and audio), be good communicator, diplomatic and have interest in people. Commercial or retailing experience an advantage. Non smoker. Office located London SW9. Telephone 071 416 0146 Ext 2072 for information.

### ST GEORGE'S CHAPEL WINDSOR CASTLE SURVEYOR OF THE FABRIC

The Dean and Canons of Windsor seek to appoint a Surveyor of the Fabric for St George's Chapel in Windsor Castle. Applicants should be qualified architects with experience of the care and conservation of ancient buildings.

Details of the post may be obtained from: The Chapter Clerk, The Chapter Office, The Cloisters, Windsor Castle, Berkshire SL4 1NJ to whom letters of application with c.v. and the names of three referees should be sent by 1 May, 1992.

### Director of Administration and Secretary and Solicitor

Chief Officer Grade £28,506 to £32,181 per annum plus car allowance and relocation package

Based at Aldern House, Bakewell

The promotion of Christopher Harrison to the chief executive post of National Park Officer to the Peak Park Joint Planning Board leaves this second tier post vacant in the Peak National Park.

Applicants are invited for the job, to lead the Administration division covering central services and to act as Secretary and Solicitor, directly responsible to the authority.

The post requires proven managerial ability with several years' experience of local government and planning law in particular.

Full details and an application form are available from the Personnel Officer, National Park Office, Baslow Road, Bakewell, Derbyshire DE4 1AE.

Closing date 22 April 1992.

The Peak Park Joint Planning Board is an Equal Opportunity Employer.

**PEAK  
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### THE TIMES

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### THE LANGLEY HOUSE TRUST

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**STAFF TEAM MEMBERS**  
In the residential home for ex-offenders in England, if you are looking for a challenge, vacation heading to serve Christ in others, then please write for further details of our work and an application form to: Anthony J. Hadden, General Secretary, Langley House Trust, 41 Weston Square, WITNEY OX29 6AL.

### South Downs Health MANAGER CHAILEY HERITAGE/DISABLEMENT SERVICES CENTRE

Salary: £23,940pa  
Ref: G564

An exciting opportunity exists for an ambitious person to manage services for children and adults with a physical disability. Chailey Heritage offers a wide range of medical services for children referred from all over the UK and some from abroad, as well as flexible care services for children attending Chailey Heritage School. It is a complex service requiring a manager to have good communication skills, an ability to lead a multi-disciplinary team of health professionals and will require liaison with Education and Social Services. As Contractual income is earned from 25 Health and nine Education Authorities, the post-holder must be numerate and possess a good understanding of contracting issues.

The Disabling Services Centre, based in Brighton, has contracts with six districts providing artificial limb services and a local wheelchair service. The Centre has a site manager, who is responsible for the operational issues, while the post-holder oversees operational issues and co-ordinates strategic planning.

For an informal discussion contact David Thompson on 082-572 2112 ext 300. Job description form from: The Personnel Department, South Downs Health NHS Trust, 14 Wellington Road, Brighton BN2 3AA. Tel: 0273 693600 ext 3778 (answerphone during office hours).

Closing date for applications: Wednesday, April 15, 1992.

Interviews will be held on Wednesday, April 29, 1992.

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